

HISTORY
OF THE
ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION
OF
PARLIAMENTS.

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28

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From the Time of the Britons to the present Day;

Shewing their Duration and Mode of Election, the various Innovations and Alterations which have taken place in the State of the Representation of the People in the Reigns of the several Kings and Queens of England, the Periods at which Cities and Boroughs respectively first sent Members, the Times of their discontinuing to exercise that Privilege, their Restoration, &c.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

The present State of the Representation;

Containing an impartial Account of the several Contests which took place at the last Election; Names of Proprietors and Patrons of Boroughs; Contradictory Rights of Election; Charters and Local Privileges; Number of Voters; State of Factions in Cities and Boroughs, &c.

BY T. H. B. OLDFIELD, *K.*

Author of the History of the Boroughs.

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1797.

2

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From the Time of the Britons to the Present Day



The present State of the Representation

Containing an account of the various changes which have taken place in the constitution of the House of Commons, and of the manner in which the members are elected, and of the manner in which the business of the House is conducted, and of the manner in which the members are paid.

BY J. H. CALVERT

Author of the History of the House of Commons

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LONDON:

Printed for C. and J. ROBINSON,

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1807.

PREFACE.

THE knowledge of Parliamentary History is so little diffused, and indeed so little known, as to have induced the author to undertake an essay towards the introduction of it into the world. Influenced by no motives of vanity, ambition, or interest, he would have wished the task to have been undertaken by some character of eminence in the political or literary circles. Conscious of his own inability, a retirement suitable to his disposition has through life been his only aim: but professional engagements have led him to investigations which procured the information he has now the honour to submit to the public. A single instance of a most important fact acquired in the progress of his labours will, he flatters himself, induce the reader to seek for others in the perusal of this work, and to give him credit for his assertion that his only motive in the publication of it has been a desire to extend the communication of political knowledge on a subject the most important, but at present the least understood. It is asserted by the most respectable legal authorities that representative parliaments never existed in this country till the 49 of Henry the Third. But on an examination of the charters,

customal, and records of the cinque ports, it will be discovered that parliaments existed in the eleventh year of that reign, and that a record of the return, and the names of the members for the several cinque ports, are still in existence. Many other proofs of equal authority are brought forward in this work, to prove the existence of parliaments at many antecedent periods, and, what is of more importance, that their duration was only for *one session*, and that the right of election was universally in the house-keepers.

These authorities the author has carefully compiled; and he submits them with deference to the impartial judgment of a candid public.

INTRODUCTION.

THE British Constitution (a term which has been accused of being destitute of a fixed meaning), and Parliamentary Reform, have of late equally attracted the attention of all classes of society. To give to the former its true fixed and original signification, and by that to regulate, in some measure, our ideas of the latter, would greatly tend to reconcile the discordant minds of all those politicians whose real object is public good and public happiness—an object comprehending every important end of reform, short of universal suffrage, which even the adoption of this plan would not preclude.

In modern Europe, no government, no constitution, was so conformable to the true principles of liberty as the British constitution in the time of our Saxon ancestors: yet that period is equally slighted in the political discussions of the most enlightened assemblies, and in the important business of educating youth. Scarcely is the historic page suffered to be opened by them previous to the time when England became a conquered province to a foreign despot: and the principles of submission glide into the youthful breast, together with the *amor patriæ* so natural in studying the history of their own country. That part of our history which records the liberty of England, is scarcely noticed by our most voluminous writers.

They have been no less deficient in the choice of the objects to which they have directed their principal attention.

tion. The brilliant exploits of ambition, or the trifling antiquities of coins, have engaged their closest investigation, while the representation of the people, on which the general happiness almost entirely depended, has been passed over in silence, or very slightly mentioned. Its original state in the period of liberty, the remnant of that liberty in the *commune concilium* which William I. found it too dangerous entirely to wrest from the people, and the continuation of some parliamentary representation, have not been attempted to be traced by any historian. Rapin, Hume, Smollet, even the elegant Dr. Henry, who has classed less important subjects into distinct chapters, are almost equally deficient in these respects. In fine, the history of parliaments, which has a better claim to be called the true history of a country, than the mere biographical account of the vices of its rulers, has been left a mighty chasm, till mankind, awakened to the true causes of their own misery, are loudly calling for reform, and discover that their ignorance of parliamentary history, that is, of the corporation impostures, whose bye-laws have robbed them of their suffrage in political affairs, has been the true cause of their being gradually deprived of their rights. They have discovered the origin of the evil. Let us then endeavour to apply a remedy, by a general diffusion of that knowledge, which would have been a stronger bulwark to our liberties than all the speeches ever uttered within the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel.

(2)

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IN ascertaining the present state of the representation of the people in parliament, and pointing out its defects, it will become necessary to take a short view of what parliaments have been, in what manner and at what period they originated, and briefly to follow up the various changes that have taken place in their names, mode of constitution, and the powers they exercised.

It has been endeavoured by many writers on this subject, to establish the opinion that

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parliaments originated in the latter part of the reign of Henry the Third, and that boroughs were first summoned to send members in the time of Edward the First. The lawyers have been particularly industrious in establishing this error, many of them from their ignorance of the earlier history of their country, but some with the evident design of throwing an impenetrable cloud over the purity and simplicity of a more perfect and less complicated system than the present.

One of the most enlightened, virtuous, and disinterested political writers of the present time, *Mr. GRANVILLE SHARP*, in his "Legal Means of Political Reformation," has demonstrated under incontrovertible authorities, that what are now stiled parliaments, had their existence among the Britons. *CÆSAR* acknowledges it in his Commentaries, and *TACITUS*, *DION CASSIUS*, and others, have left sufficient testimonies of their freedom.

dom. The learned Spelman says, “ the Britons had their *commune concilium*, or parliament, which they called *kyfr-y-then*, from their laws being formed in that assembly.

When *Lucius* sent to Pope *Eleutherius* for the Roman laws, the Pope, not ignorant of the British constitution, wrote him an answer to the following purport: “ Thou hast almost “ every page of them in thy kingdom. From “ them, by the grace of God, *by the council of* “ *thy kingdom*, take the law; and by that power, rule thy kingdom.”

It was the *kyfr-y-then*, or, as it was stiled by the Romans, *commune concilium*, that chose *Cassibelan* the leader or general of the British army, which opposed the invasion of the country by the Romans. It was the same assembly, who, upon the evacuation of the Romans, invited the Saxons to repel the incur-

fions of the Picts and Scots. And as a farther evidence that the Britons had not only political, but municipal laws, Bede says, "there were in Britain twenty-eight cities, "formerly the most distinguished, beside in- "numerable castles that were defended by "walls, towers, ports, and barred gates."

This authority demonstrates, that the Britons were not then an itinerant people, as some have imagined, wandering in tribes, without government, or settled habitation : on the contrary, they are thus proved to have made such considerable progress in civilization, as to have formed a government, established communities, and to have fortified themselves by castles, like every other country in which civil society had been established.

When *Cæsar* landed, he found they had so far proceeded in forming a government, that

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it was, like that of the Gauls, a republic. They were not ruled by one king; for in Britain there were found several petty kings, or rather chiefs of the districts over which they presided: and *Camden* uses this argument to prove the Britons and Gauls were the same people.

The Romans having lost their liberty and their power, were obliged, about the fourth century, to abandon Britain, in order to defend Italy; and the Saxons, a people of Germany, were invited into Britain to repel the incursions of the Scots and Picts. This warlike people soon routed the Scots; but being scanty of land in their own country, owing to their great encrease in population, they gradually seized upon the lands of Britain, and made a settlement here for themselves.

This brave nation, after possessing themselves of the lands, obtained the power of be-

queathing them to their children; and this appropriation of them produced the feudal system (so called from *fee*, a reward, and *od*, possession), which enslaved great part of Europe.

The lands which had been wrested from the former possessors, were sometimes divided amongst the conquerors by lot. This tenure was distinguished by the name of *allodial*, compounded of the German particle *an*, and *lot*, signifying land obtained by lot, and implied the independence of the possessor, who held the intire property and dominion, without performing service, or owning any subordination to a superior lord. But as these new proprietors were exposed to the resentment and attacks of the ancient inhabitants, it became necessary for them tacitly to acquiesce in certain obligations for the protection of their own community; and every possessor of land under this tenure was compelled to arm

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in the common cause, under the forfeiture of a heavy penalty.

Such was the situation of the original adventurer, who had carved out his fortunes with his sword: but the craft and policy of the leader soon established a new description of tenure, under the appellation of *beneficia*, or *benefices*. The king, or leader of a tribe, whose wisdom or valor had directed, or opened the road to conquest, was gratified with the largest portion of the property acquired. The land allotted to him he parcelled out to his adherents, binding them on whom it was bestowed to bear arms in his defence, and to follow his standard with a certain number of men. The example of the king was imitated by his chief officers, who distributed also portions of their lands amongst their dependents, annexing to the grant the same conditions; and thus these benefices differed from the allodial lands, the

latter binding the possessor only to serve the community, while the former required him to arm in defence of the *person* from whom he received the grant; who permitted him to enjoy it only on the tacit condition of servitude, and who might resume it at his pleasure.

The proprietor of the *allodial* lands was distinguished by the honourable appellation of *liber homo*, or *freeman*; and was opposed to the possessor of a *benefice*, or *fief*, who was described by the servile denomination of *vassus*, or *vassal*: but this was not the only misfortune under which this unhappy description of slaves were doomed by their tyrants to suffer; the claim of military service was all the *liber homo*, or *freeman*, contributed, and all the state demanded. The imposition of taxes, under the accumulated weight of which modern governments are crumbling to dust, he was happily exempt from; that burden was reserved for the miserable race of *vassals*
or

or *villains*. The Gauls and Romans who were subjected by the sword of the barbarians, were compelled to submit to the same system: and as the conqueror according to the maxims of ancient war became the master of the conquered, such as he chose to spare, were condemned, without the smallest regard to their former situation, to tend the cattle, and cultivate the lands of the victorious invaders. The king, the clergy, and the lord, raised regular taxes on the *bondmen* or *villains*; and to encrease the misery of their melancholy lot, they were, equally with all other *slaves*, attached to the land, *adscripti villæ*, whence they derived their name, and were transferable with it.

I have found it necessary to be thus particular in describing the nature of the *feudal system*, and pointing out the difference between the possessors of *allodial* lands, and those who held them in *villainage*, because it has
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been much disputed what were the constituent parts of the *commune concilium*, or, as it now came to be called, the *mickle gemot*. All agree that it existed, and that all laws were made, and taxes imposed, by the sole authority of this great council or parliament: many records of the Saxon times have been purposely destroyed to conceal this important fact; and Rapin has only produced the titles of a few charters whose authenticity he owns to be suspicious: but Mr. Granville Sharp, Doctor Wilkins, and others, have brought to light various Saxon laws of unquestionable authority, which demonstrate that *every freeman* was at liberty to attend, and had a voice in this *common council* or parliament of the nation.

This was the state of the *mickle gemot* during the Saxon heptarchy, while England was divided into seven kingdoms; and it continued so until the time of Alfred the Great, when the seven kingdoms being united, that truly
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illustrious prince found it impossible to assemble the people in person, and therefore did it by representation—a system which the great DOCTOR FRANKLIN describes to be the most wise and just, when the people are fairly and equally represented, that ever was or can be devised, uniting all the advantages of an aristocracy with the purity, energy, and freedom of a democracy.

From this æra we proceed under the advantage of authorities the most positive and authentic. Mr. Lambard, in his explication of words prefixed to his *Archaionomia*, informs us that the division of the country into *hundreds* and *tythings* was ordained by the virtuous and patriotic Alfred. These tythings were the primary assemblies of the people, and consisted of ten house-keepers, in the Saxon language *borscholders*, from which are corrupted the present terms, *burgesst*, and *burgage-holders*, distinctions under which individuals claim an exclusive

exclusive right of voting for members of parliament at the present day, in corporate and burgage-tenure boroughs.

Mr. GRANVILLE SHARP, in his view of Frankpledge, proves, as does Whelock, and the Rev. Doctor David Wilkins, who printed an edition of the Saxon Laws in 1721, that this division of the country into *tythings* and *hundreds* existed in the time of the Britons, and that king Arthur found and enforced this law. Mr. Sharp has produced ample evidence to prove that the divisions of *hundreds* and *tythings*, CENTURIE and DECURIE, were in use with the Roman colonies in Britain, both in their civil and military government; and that the Britons were incorporated in these divisions. We also learn from the copy of the laws of Edward the Confessor, that “ what is now called a county was formerly with the Britons, in the times of the Romans in this kingdom of Britain, called

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“ *consulatus*. And those who are now called
 “ *vicecomites* (or sheriffs), were then called
 “ *vice-consules*, and he that was called vice-
 “ consul, was the person who, in the ab-
 “ sence of the consul, supplied his place in
 “ the law and in the court.”

These tythings, or boroughs, for we find them frequently denominated boroughs and decennaries, elected annually their chief officer, who was called Tythingman where the assembly of ten was called a tything, Headborough where it was denominated a borough, and Deacon where it was called a decennary, except in Yorkshire where he is stiled Tenmantale. These, according to the Saxon laws collected by king Edward the Confessor, “ tried causes among the villages
 “ and neighbours, and according to convic-
 “ tion, took satisfaction, and settled agree-
 “ ments, concerning pastures, meadows, and
 “ harvests, as also litigations between neigh-
 “ bours,

“ bours, and innumerable such like disputes,
 “ which infest the weakness of human nature,
 “ and continually annoy it.”

Ten of these tythings or boroughs formed the hundred, who elected annually their chief officer, called *Centurion* or *Constable of the hundred*, who held a court superior to the tything court, from whence appeals lay to the hundred, as Edward's laws express—“ When
 “ causes of more importance occurred, they
 “ were referred to their superior justiciaries,
 “ whom the wise men (so the *witena gemot* or
 “ parliament was called) had appointed over
 “ them, that is, over ten deacons, (heads of
 “ tythings) whom we call *centurions* or cen-
 “ tenarii (constables of hundreds) because
 “ they had jurisdiction over an hundred free-
 “ men.”

The tything courts were held every week,
 the court of the hundred every three weeks.

This higher court had a compleat establishment within itself. A constable of the hundred, and ten assistants in the ten tythingmen or headboroughs, who formed the grand inquest or jury; and the petty jury of twelve, who were to try and determine, were selected from the remaining freemen of the hundred.

In these divisions of the people, peace and right were maintained, and differences among neighbours adjusted, *without expence*, whereby tedious and vexatious law suits were happily avoided. What is now called the sheriff's court, was formerly this court of the hundred. Sir Edward Coke observes "that in those days the sheriff did hold his tourn, per hundreda*."

So far the divisions of the people were numerical. The counties and their sub-divi-

* See Mag. Chart. cap. 35.

fions appear, as at this time, to have been territorial. Yorkshire was sub-divided into *tythings* now corruptly called ridings, Suffex into rapes, and Kent into lathes. The hundreds formed the constituent part of these territorial divisions, in the same manner as the tythings formed the constituent parts of the hundreds.

The ancient mode of dividing great cities was by wards, each of which was governed by an ealderman, an officer of great authority among the Anglo-Saxons, having all the powers of our modern justices of the peace; and what is of more importance, he was always elected by the house-holders of the ward over which he presided.

This ancient mode of division by no means interfered with the lesser divisions of hundreds and tythings; so far from it, that the government of the wards is not compleat without

without them. The lord mayor's precept to the alderman, to this day, to hold courts of frankpledge, prove they were not without the regular divisions of tythings to give them effect.

The average rate of common-council-men to the house-holders is at present about one to ninety: and as the city was in ancient times more populous, and the houses smaller for each family, when men were restrained by law from building in the environs of the city, it is probable that the true proportion of house-keepers to elect one common-council-man should be one hundred, so that the common-council has formerly to appearance been an assembly of centurions or high constables of the hundred.

This is the more probable, as every county in the time of the Anglo-Saxons was governed by their Ealdorman, chosen by the

house-holders who composed the respective tythings and hundreds, who had also the Centurions or Constables of the hundreds to assist him in the administration of justice, in the county court, and in the government of his district. The Gerefa or Sheriff was also chosen by the house-holders of the county, as a deputy or assistant to the Ealdorman. This office of Ealdorman was afterwards changed to *Comes*, and the Gerefa to that of Vicecomes, from whence the present courtly titles of Earl or Count, and Viscount, derived their origin.

It has already been ascertained that the *mickle-gemot*, which signifies *great* council, was constituted by the assembly of all the freemen of the kingdom, that is, all the house-holders composing the various hundreds in the country: but to put this beyond the possibility of a doubt, I shall produce a few of the preambles of those laws from

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Doctör Wilkins, literally translated, to prove it. “ Wihtred, king of Canterbury, in the
 “ fifth year of his reign, and the sixth day of
 “ August, in a place called Berghamstyde,
 “ gathered the principal people to council;
 “ there was Berhtwald, archbishop of Britain,
 “ Hrofes, a bishop, and all the clergy with the
 “ herdsman folk, where the chiefs and the con-
 “ gregation established these laws.”

“ Ina, by God’s gift king of the West Sax-
 “ ons, with the council of Cenrede my father,
 “ Heddes my bishop, and all my ealdormen,
 “ and the oldest and wisest of my people, and
 “ many of the society of God’s people, was
 “ consulting for the health of our souls, and
 “ the stability of our kingdom; and right laws
 “ there our folk established.”

“ This is the compact that king Alfred,
 “ and king Gythrun, and all the wise men of
 “ England, and the people which abide in East

" *Anglia*, all gathered together, with an oath confirmed."

Such was the constitution of the mickle gemot or great council during the Saxon Heptarchy; and such it continued until Alfred the Great ordained the assembling of the people by representation.

From the time of their meeting by representatives, the term of *witena gemot* (council of *wisemen*) instead of *mickle gemot* (great council) seems to have been used in all laws, as more applicable to the assembly of a select number of representatives, and also to distinguish it from the mickle gemot which was still assembled upon very great and urgent occasions.

In this state of freedom the laws were so pure, and the administration of them so just, that

that we cannot reply better to the advocates of oppression and corruption, who are always comparing a state of liberty to a state of anarchy, than by giving the following description of those times from the Chronicon of John Brompton. “ Although laws in times of war
 “ are silent, yet king Alfred, in the midst of
 “ the clashing of arms, made laws and instituted the *centuries*, which they call *hundreds*, and the *decennaries*, which they call
 “ *tythings*; maintained peace amongst his
 “ own subjects, and chastised robbers in such
 “ sort, that he commanded golden bracelets to
 “ be hung up in the roads divided into four
 “ ways, which might brave the avidity of
 “ passengers, whilst there was none who durst
 “ snatch them away.” And Speed also tells us from William of Malmesbury, that “ His
 “ kingdom he likewise divided into shires,
 “ hundreds, and tythings, for the better ordering and administering of justice, and for
 “ the abandoning of thieves, which had for-

“merly increased *by the means of long warres;*
 “whereby, notwithstanding the multitude of
 “foldiers continually imployed, it is report-
 “ed that a virgin might travaile alone in his
 “days, through all his dominions, without
 “any violence offered; and that bracelets of
 “gold were hanged in the high-waies, and
 “no man so hardy as to take them away.”

This popular form of government existed
 until the conquest of the Norman tyrant, as
 appears by the preamble to the several
 Saxon laws. “I Alfred the king gathered
 “together, and commanded to be written
 “many laws of our forefathers, which pleas-
 “ed me: and many of them which pleased
 “me not, I rejected, *with my witena ge-*
 “*mot.*”

“I Athelston the king, with a council of
 “Wulfhelm archbishop, and also my other
 “bishops, *with the Gerefa's of Byrigs, &c.*”

See

See Spelman's Life of Alfred, page 158, and page 114.

Even after the conquest, it appears that a council of representatives of the people, or parliament, was chosen and held. "A parliament was *elected* and called together in the fourth year of William the First, and the manner of the *representation* was remarkable. *Twelve representatives were elected* in each county in the whole kingdom, and were sworn before the king, that they would, to the best of their power, without departing either to the right or to the left from the path of truth, declare their laws and customs, nothing omitting, nothing adding, nothing changing by prevarication, &c." See de Greve, c. 35.

It is therefore proved that parliaments existed from the earliest periods of which we have any knowledge, and that the consent of

the people was always necessary to the enacting of laws. It is nevertheless certain, that very essential changes took place after the conquest. When a banditti of Norman freebooters had seized the lands, they found it necessary, for their own preservation, to establish the feudal system in the utmost severity of its oppression. The Saxon constitution and the liberties of the people were then annihilated; and a council of landed proprietors, or feudal barons, was substituted for the *witena gemot*, or representation of the people.

The Norman conqueror at first, by fair promises to preserve the old constitution, prevailed on the people to acknowledge him as king: he had however no sooner established himself in that office, than, like the stork in the fable, he began to devour those who had the weakness to accept him for a master. He dispossessed them of their lands, which he seized for his own use, divided according to the feudal

dal custom, into sixty thousand two hundred and fifteen knights' fees, and distributed such of those lands as he did not reserve for himself, amongst his Norman followers.

These were the first fruits of a government established by a king in contempt of the people: and it will not be easily believed that a king who would make so free with the property of his subjects would be very tenacious of their liberties. Indeed, had he really intended to preserve the ancient constitution, it was not in his power: for the body of the people being still English, had they been permitted to elect their own magistrates and representatives as before, they would have chosen Englishmen; consequently the Normans would have lost their power. He therefore directed that the Norman proprietors, who were then called Barons, should compose the national council, and likewise officiate as magistrates upon their estates, with absolute power over
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their vassals : thus establishing the feudal system in all its tyranny.

From this period to the forty-ninth of Henry the Third, the feudal barons exercised with unlimited oppression the whole legislative power. The *witena gemot* was no more heard of. The bishops and nobility, for this was the distinction of the landed proprietors, or feudal barons, assumed the power of making laws and levying taxes. The democracy of England was completely overthrown, and an arbitrary aristocracy erected on its ruins.

Nobility at this time was attached to the possession of certain property, as Arundel Castle at this day gives the title of Earl to its possessor the Duke of Norfolk : a patent nobility created on parchment was then unknown. The first nobleman ever created by patent was Beauchamp, Baron of Kidderminster, made by Edward the First : Matilda, daughter of

of Henry the First converted the office of ealdorman of a county into an earldom: Edward the Third created the first duke, and Richard the Second, the first marquis and viscount.

From this overthrow of the Saxon constitution, to the reign of Henry the Third, the only contest was between this new-fangled aristocracy and the crown, for the unlimited exercise of power. The most bloody conflicts ended in the alternate success of each party; the people had no other concern in them, but that of being compelled to shed their blood in the quarrel of those whose slaves they had the misfortune to call themselves. This king, to oppress his subjects more safely, gave most places of trust and profit to foreigners, and brought in an army of Flemings and French to dragoon them. The barons were still more aggrieved than the people: this usually excites the zeal of great men; if their own interest is not concerned, in vain will it
be

be expected that the nobles will expose their lives and fortunes in defence of an injured people.

The Barons compelled him to sign an agreement, surrendering the kingly power to twenty-four barons, of whom he should choose twelve,

The king made several attempts to regain his authority: but after the battle of Lewes, in which the king's party was totally defeated, they were obliged to call a parliament; and to give it a greater air of authority, they made the king sign an order to summon four knights to represent each county, and four for the cities of London, York, and Lincoln, making in the whole *one hundred and sixty-six members* *. These representatives were chosen by *universal suffrage* of the house-holders; and the county representatives continued

* Chester and Durham had then parliaments of their own, and Monmouth was incorporated with Wales,

to be elected in that constitutional mode until the eighth year of Henry the Sixth.

This parliament was similar, in every thing but the number, to that summoned and assembled in the fourth year of William the First; the number of representatives in William's parliament being *twelve* for each county, in this only *four*.

At this period parliaments obtained their re-establishment, though their constituent parts underwent the most material and humiliating alterations in this, as well as in every successive reign until the revolution. Edward the First summoned only *two* members for each county instead of *four*: the city of London alone was permitted to retain that privilege. In the twenty-third year of his reign he pretended to restore the Saxon constitution; but instead of summoning the *hundreds* and *tythings* in full county court, to elect a number of representatives

tatives proportionate to the number of electors in each county, as had formerly been the custom, he only caused writs to be issued to the following *boroughs and cities*—To *Bedford*, in Bedfordshire, *Reading*, in Berkshire, *Ely* and *Cambridge*, in Cambridgeshire, *Launceston*, *Leskard*, *Truro*, *Lestwithiel*, *Bodmyn*, and *Helstone*, in Cornwall, *Egremont*, *Cockermouth*, and *Carlisle*, in Cumberland, *Derby*, in Derbyshire, *Torrington*, *Totness*, *Barnstaple*, *Plympton*, *Tavistock*, and *Exeter*, in Devonshire, *Blandford*, *Wimborne*, *Dorchester* *Lyme-Regis* and *Shaftesbury*, in Dorsetshire, *Colchester*, in Essex, *Gloster*, in Gloucestershire, *Alresford*, *Alton*, *Basingstoke*, *Overton*, *Andover*, *Newport*, *Yarmouth*, *Portsmouth*, *Southampton*, and *Winchester*, in Hampshire, *Bromyard*, *Ledbury*, *Ross*, *Weobly*, *Leominster*, and *Hereford*, in Herefordshire, *Hertford*, in Hertfordshire, *Huntingdon*, in Huntingdonshire, *Tunbridge*, *Rochester*, and *Canterbury*, in Kent, *Preston*, *Liverpool*, *Wigan*, and *Lancaster*, in Lancashire,

shire, *Leicester*, in Leicestershire, *Grimsby* and *Stamford*, in Lincolnshire; (Lincoln had sent members as a county since the 49th of Henry the Third, London the same) *Yarmouth*, *Lynn-Regis*, and *Norwich*, in Norfolk, *Northampton*, in Northamptonshire, *Nottingham*, in Nottinghamshire, *Oxford*, in Oxfordshire, *Bridgenorth* and *Shrewsbury*, in Salop, *Oxbridge*, *Ilchester*, *Bridgewater*, *Taunton*, *Wells*, *Bath*, and *Bristol*, in Somersetshire, *Stafford*, in Staffordshire, *Orford*, *Dunwich*, and *Ipswich*, in Suffolk, *Guildford*, *Ryegate*, *Bletchingley*, and *Southwark*, in Surrey, *Arundel*, *Bramber*, *Shoreham*, *Lewes*, *Horsham*, and *Chichester*, in Sussex, *Warwick*, and *Coventry*, in Warwickshire, *Appleby* in Westmoreland, *Bradford*, *Mere*, *Marlborough*, *Old Sarum*, *Luggershall*, *Great Bedwin*, *Cricklade*, *Malmesbury*, *Chippenham*, *Devizes*, *Calne*, *Downton*, *Wilton*, and *Salisbury*, in Wiltshire, *Bromsgrove*, *Dudley*, *Kidderminster*, *Pershore*, *Evesham*, *Droitwich*, and *Worcester*, in Worcestershire, *Don-*
caster,

caster, Jervall, Pickering, Tickhill, Pontefract, Beverley, Thirsk, Malton, Heydon, Rippon, and Scarborough, in Yorkshire, (York sent members as a county since the 49th of Henry the Third, like London and Lincoln.)

The representatives of the aforementioned towns constituted the parliament of the *twenty-third* of Edward the First, and was the first *partial representation of the people*: as a proof of which we find the town of St. Albans, in the succeeding reign, petitioning to send representatives as they had done in the time of Edward the Confessor, and his progenitors.

The right of electing members was then in every house-holder in each district. The distinction of free-holders, and their exclusive right of voting, was enacted by statute the eighth of Henry the Sixth: and the claim of corporations to exclusive rights, or any rights at all, in cities and boroughs, was, totally unknown.

known. The first parliamentary charter granted to a borough, was that of Wenlock, in the reign of Edward the Fourth; these exclusive distinctions, being equally an infringement on the constitution.

Edward in the subsequent part of his reign summoned thirty-eight other boroughs, and the city of Litchfield, which had been omitted in his first summons: he also omitted Tregony, which was afterwards restored by Elizabeth; Egremont, which has never been restored; Crediton, South Moulton, Lideford and Modbury, which he summoned in one year and omitted in another. He also discontinued Alresford and Fareham, which have not been restored; Yarmouth and Newport in Hampshire, which were restored by Elizabeth; Petersfield, which was restored by Edward the Fourth; Bromyard, Ledbury, and Ross, never restored; Wigan, and Liverpool, restored by Edward the Sixth; Bamberg and Corbrig, never restored; Burford, Chipping
D Norton,

Norton, and Doddington, never restored; Woodstock restored by Mary the First; Langport, Montacute, Watchet, and Were, never restored; Milborne Port, restored by Charles the First; Coventry, restored by Edward the Second; Bradford, never restored; Old Sarum, restored by Edward the Third; Bromsgrove, Dudley, Kidderminster, and Pershore, never restored; Evesham, restored by James the First; Doncaster, Jervall, Pickering, and Tickhill, never restored; Hull and Rippon, restored by Edward the Second, Rippon was again discontinued by Edward the Second, and restored by Edward the Fourth; Heydon, omitted by Edward the First, restored by Edward the Fourth; Northallerton, restored by Charles the Second; Pontefract, restored by James the First; Seaford, summoned, and afterwards discontinued by Edward the First, the same by Edward the Second, Richard the Second, and Henry the Fourth, and finally restored by Charles the First.

From

From this period, boroughs appear to have depended on the will of the king, and not unfrequently on that of the sheriff, for the right of electing members. Summonses were sent to such places as were likely to return representatives favourable to the views of the court, and omitted to be sent to such as did not promise to be so obsequious. From the twenty-third of Edward the First, to the time of James the Second, great alterations were made in the state of the representation. In every reign except those of Edward the Fifth and Richard the Third, boroughs were made and unmade with as little difficulty as lords of the bed-chamber.

Edward the Second, not finding this borough system exactly to his mind, added *sixteen* new ones to those which had been summoned by his predecessor, discontinued *twenty-six*, and restored seven that had been omitted in the late reign.

Edward the Third summoned *twenty-eight* boroughs, restored *five*, and discontinued *forty-one*.

Richard the Second summoned no additional borough, but discontinued *five*, *one* of which he restored, together with four of those which had been omitted in the two former reigns.

Henry the Fourth added none, but discontinued *three*, and restored the same number.

Henry the Fifth summoned no new borough, nor discontinued any of those which had sent members in the late reign, but restored *three* that had been omitted in former reigns.

Henry the Sixth summoned *one* new borough, discontinued *one*, restored *seven*.

Edward the Fourth *created three* new boroughs

roughs (this was the first instance of boroughs being established by charter), discontinued *fifteen*, restored *three*.

Edward the Fifth. The short and minor reign of this young prince afforded no time for the arrangement of boroughs.

Richard the Third. No instance of the management of boroughs in this reign.

Henry the Seventh created *none*, discontinued *none*, restored *one*.

Henry the Eighth did not conform to the precedents of his predecessors, Edward the First and the six succeeding kings, of enlarging the number of boroughs by writs of summons; nor did he adopt the more recent one of Edward the Fourth and his successors, of creating boroughs by charter; but in the twenty-seventh year of this reign, Wales was empowered to send twelve knights for the

twelve counties in that principality; and *forty* of the Welch boroughs were empriviledged to elect *twelve* burgesses, by *act of parliament*; the very mode by which the advocates of reform have recommended a renovation or at least an amelioration of the present corrupt system, and which the enemies of that measure affect to deprecate as an innovation. The county and city of Chester, which had formerly been governed by a palatinate parliament, were also admitted to send two members each, by another act of parliament passed in the thirty-fourth year of this reign. We have also instances of similar *innovations* in later reigns; but not one *of the dangerous consequences* has ever followed, which we are persuaded to believe will be the result of a parliamentary reformation. Monmouth county and town also first sent members in this reign, as did Calais in France, which was then in the possession of the crown of England. Henry omitted *none*, which had been summoned in the preceding reigns, but re-
stored

stored *four* large towns which had been discontinued.

Edward the Sixth added the right of representation to thirteen cities and boroughs, amongst which was the city of Westminster, which had been overlooked till this *innovation* took place. He discontinued *none*, but restored *twenty-four*, making in the whole an addition of *ninety-eight members* to the house of commons, without the country experiencing any of those dangers which certain persons affect to apprehend.

Mary added the same right to *eleven* boroughs, discontinued *three*, restored *three*.

Elizabeth created *twenty-one*, discontinued *none*, restored *nine*.

James the First added two members for each of the universities, and chartered four

new boroughs, discontinued *none*, restored *eight*.

Charles the First created *none*, discontinued *none*, restored *eight*.

Charles the Second created *one* borough by charter, and added *two* members for the county, and *two* for the city of Durham, by act of parliament, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. He discontinued *none*, restored *two*.

Thus the state of the representation of the people has been suffering innovations and alterations from the forty ninth year of Henry the Third, till the death of Charles the Second, including a period of four centuries: and now, since some boroughs are totally annihilated in every thing but the name, and the major part of them reduced to a few houses or cottages, and become the property of individuals, we are told it is never to be altered. Can

there be more injustice in taking the right of electing members from a borough that has not a house, or a single inhabitant to exercise that right, than in depriving the most populous towns of any representation at all? or can there be more danger in restoring the whole people to their just rights, than there is in with-holding them? I shall leave it to the ingenuity of the enemies of reform to resolve these questions.

If the exclusive right of a few boroughs to choose the representatives for the whole people of Great Britain can be defended upon any principle, that part of them which has been omitted to be summoned in different reigns, and have not yet been restored, are at least entitled to their share in that exclusive right. If the argument of "once a borough, always a borough," is to be persevered in, there are no less than *seventy* of that description which have been discontinued at different periods since the commencement of the exclusive

clusive system, and have not so far got into favour in any of the restoring reigns as to get back their share of this right. Manchester and Leeds would then have an equal right with Midhurst and Old Sarum, which have neither houses nor inhabitants; and the opponents of equal representation would have the satisfaction of knowing that their own system, as far as it goes, had the merit of being compleat.

The following are the boroughs and towns which have sent members to parliament at different periods, since exclusive summonses were first issued in the twenty-third year of Edward the First, and are now deprived of that privilege:

Dunstable, in Bedfordshire; Newbury, in Berkshire; Ely and Wisbeach, in Cambridgeshire; Poluron, in Cornwall; Egremont, in Cumberland; Bradnesham, Crediton, Exmouth, Fremington, Liddeford, Modbury,
South-

South-Moulton, Teignmouth, and Torrington, in Devonshire; Blandford, Bere-Regis, Milton, Sherborne, and Winborne in Dorsetshire; Chelmsford, in Essex; Alresford, Alton, Basingstoke, Fareham, Odiham, and Overton, in Hampshire; Bromyard, Ledbury, and Ross in Herefordshire; Berkhemsted, and Storteford, in Hertfordshire; Greenwich, and Tunbridge, in Kent; Manchester, in Lancashire; Melton-Mowbray, in Leicestershire; Spalding, and Wainfleet, in Lincolnshire; Bamberg, and Corbrig, in Northumberland; Burford, Chipping-Norton, Doddington, and Witney, in Oxfordshire; Axbridge, Chard, Dunster, Glastonbury, Langport, Montacute, Stoke-Cursey, Watchet, and Were, in Somersetshire; Farnham, and Kingston-upon-Thames, in Surrey; Bradford, Mere, and Highworth, in Wiltshire; Bromsgrove, Dudley, Kidderminster, and Pershore, in Worcestershire; Doncaster, Jervall, Pickering, Ravenfer, Tickhill, Halifax, Leeds, and Whitby, in Yorkshire.

The existence of parliaments from the earliest times being thus established upon incontestable authorities, it is of equal importance to enquire how they were constituted, and likewise to ascertain what was the time of their duration. I shall therefore endeavour to shew from authorities of no less respectability than the records of parliament, and the statutes at large, that *the right of election was universal*, and that the duration of parliaments was *only for one session*.

Mr. Prynne discovered amongst the records in the Tower, and published in his "*Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva*," printed in 1662, and dedicated to King Charles the Second, copies of most of the original writs to the sheriffs, which were issued annually for the election of a new parliament, and in all of which the sheriff is commanded to call together the *whole community* of his county, in the county court of the shire, *on the same day*, and there to elect two knights for the shire,

two citizens for each city, and two burgesſes for each borough. Theſe prove that the members for a city were not choſen by a corporation of *eighteen* ſelf-appointed individuals, as is now the caſe at Bath, nor by a proprietor of a borough, as is now the practice at Midhurſt, Old Sarum, and many others; nor were the county members elected by the freeholders alone, but all were choſen by the *whole community*, in county court aſſembled. To put this important fact beyond the poſſibility of cavil and doubt, I ſhall tranſcribe two writs of Henry the Fourth, and Henry the Fifth, to confirm the right that the people had to *universal ſuffrage*.

“ Kent. In the twelvth year of Henry the Fourth. Indent. for the knights of Kent.”

“ This indenture made at Canterbury, on Monday the next before the feaſt of the Apoſtles Simon and Jude, next following
“ after

“ after the receipt of the writ of the lord the
 “ King, annexed to this indenturé. Be-
 “ tween John Darrell, sheriff of the said
 “ county, and Robert Clifford, Valentine
 “ Baret, John Broke, James Dingley, Tho-
 “ mas Lane, William Lans, &c. who, to
 “ choose knights and citizens for the par-
 “ liament of the lord the King, to be holden
 “ at Westminster on the morrow of All Souls,
 “ that next shall be, were impowered by vir-
 “ tue of the writ of the same lord the King, in
 “ this behalf, addrested to the same sheriff, BY
 “ THE ASSENT OF ALL THAT COUN-
 “ TY, have chosen Reginald Pympe, and
 “ William Notebem, knights for the COM-
 “ MUNITY of the aforesaid county; Wil-
 “ liam Hickman, and William Roe, citizens
 “ for the COMMUNITY of the city of
 “ Canterbury, Roger Langford, and John
 “ Everard, citizens for the COMMUNITY
 “ of the city of Rochester. In witness where-
 “ of, as well the aforesaid sheriff, as the afore-
 “ said

“ said Robert Valentine, &c. have alternately
“ affixed their seals the day and year above
“ mentioned.”

Canterbury and Rochester were the only two places in Kent, which, with the county, were then summoned to send members; and the election of the *representatives* of all three was made by THE WHOLE COMMUNITY of the county, in county court assembled.

The following is the copy of a writ issued for the county of Wilts in the succeeding reign of Henry the Fifth.

“ This indenture, made at Wilton in full
“ county (court) of Wilts, holden on Tuesday
“ the next before the feast of Matthew the
“ Apostle, in the first year of the reign of
“ King Henry the Fifth after the Conquest, be-
“ tween Elias De La Mire, sheriff of the afore-
“ said county, on the one part, and Thomas
“ Bonham,

" Bonham, William Daungens, &c. of the
 " other part, witnesseth, that the aforesaid
 " Thomas Bonham, and all the above named,
 " present on the day and at the place above-
 " mentioned, and by the aforesaid sheriff, by
 " virtue of the writ of the lord the King to the
 " same sheriff addressed, and to this indenture
 " annexed, singly examined, have chosen
 " William Molyns, knight, and Walter Hun-
 " gerford, knights for the COMMUNITY
 " of the county aforesaid; and likewise have
 " chosen Walter Shirle, and John Beckot,
 " citizens for the COMMUNITY of the city
 " of New Sarum; John Valeys, senior, and
 " John Harlston, burgessees for the COM-
 " MUNITY of the borough of Wilton;
 " Thomas Coventry, and Robert Smyth,
 " burgessees for the COMMUNITY of the
 " borough of Devizes; John Charleton, and
 " John Randolph, burgessees for the COM-
 " MUNITY of the borough of Malmes-
 " bury; Thomas Hatheway, and William
 " Acliff, burgessees for the COMMUNITY
 " of

“ of the borough of Marlborough ; Robert
 “ Salmon, and Robert Ronde, burgesſes of the
 “ COMMUNITY of the borough of Calne ;
 “ Robert Lany, and William Cheſterton, bur-
 “ geſſes for the COMMUNITY of the bo-
 “ rough of Old Sarum, in the aforeſaid coun-
 “ ty ; to all and every thing, according to the
 “ tenor of the aforeſaid writ, in the parlia-
 “ ment of the ſaid lord the king, at Leiceſter
 “ appointed to be, on the laſt day of April
 “ next, together with others, to confer, treat,
 “ act, and likewise conclude, according as the
 “ aforeſaid writ exacts and requires. In wit-
 “ neſs whereof, &c.”

In addition to theſe proofs of the *universal*
right of ſuffrage having been poſſeſſed and ex-
 erciſed by our anceſtors, we have it alſo con-
 firmed on record by the ſtatutes at large, 8 of
 Henry the Sixth, c. 7. by which act the right of
 voting in counties was limited to *free-holders of*
forty ſhillings a year. The preamble of this act

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ſufficiently

sufficiently proves this important fact: it recites that, "Whereas the elections of knights
 " of shires to come to parliament of our lord
 " the king, in many counties of the realm of
 " England, have now of late been made by
 " very great, outrageous, and excessive numbers of people dwelling within the same
 " counties, &c. of the which, most part was
 " people of small substance and of no value,
 " whereof every of them pretended a voice,
 " equivalent, as to such elections to be made,
 " with the most worthy knights and esquires
 " dwelling within the same counties, where-
 " by manslaughter, riots, batteries, and divisions among the gentlemen and other people of the same counties, *shall very likely rise*
 " *and be*, unless convenient and due remedy be
 " provided, &c."

This preamble not only acknowledges that the right of universal suffrage was claimed and exercised by the people, but plainly
 draws

draws the line between the multitude, and *the most worthy knights and esquires*, whom it professes to invest with that exclusive right, which had been the natural and constitutional right of the whole people.

It is also very curious, and particularly deserving the attention of the reader, that this preamble does not state that riots, batteries, and divisions, had ever happened, or presume to recite a single instance of such outrage having ever taken place, but only says that they "*shall very likely arise and be,*" and that among the gentlemen as well *as others*; and therefore it vests the exclusive right in these gentlemen, and takes it away from all others.

The right of election in cities and boroughs was also originally exercised by the whole people within their respective districts for a great length of time after the elections of

their members had ceased to be made by the whole county in county court assembled. At Preston, Taunton, Honiton, and Tregony, the right of voting is still *universal*, and would have remained so in other boroughs, but for charters confining it to corporations, and also resolutions of the house of commons on the trial of controverted elections; on which occasions, the house has seldom agreed in its resolution with any former one upon a similar occasion. Even since the establishment of committees for the trial of disputed elections, they have determined the right of voting at Saltaſh at one time to be in the corporation, at another to be in the burgage-holders; and two members have sat in one and the same parliament, on the election of each of these descriptions of constituents.

In the case of the city of Westminster, the house of commons has determined that the right *has not* been, and that it *has been*, in
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the inhabitants of the liberty of the duchy court of Lancaster: in the case of Pontefract, it was at first declared to be in the burgage-holders, afterwards in the house-keepers; and determinations of similar contrariety have been made respecting most of the boroughs in the kingdom.

The existence of parliaments, and the right of the whole people to elect them, being so far established, I shall next undertake to prove that elections were *annual*, or rather that parliaments were chosen only for *one session*. Mr. Granville Sharp, in his "Declaration of the People's Natural Right to a Share in the Legislature," elegantly observes that, "the due effect and virtue of popular representation was formerly deemed incapab'e (like the annual productions of nature) of being so long preserved in useful purity, without a seasonable renewal; our prudent ancestors, imitating nature, required also an

“ annual renewal of their parliamentary re-
 “ presentation, as being necessary for the
 “ maintenance of public virtue.”

Sir Edward Coke also, in his 4th Inst. p. 9. speaking of the matters of parliament, informs us, that “ an excellent law was made, “ anno 36. Edward the Third, c. 10. which “ being applied to the said writs of parlia- “ ment, doth, in a few and effectual words, “ set down the true subject of a parliament in “ these words. ‘ For the maintainance of the “ said articles and statutes, and redress of di- “ vers mischiefs and grievances, which daily “ happen, *a parliament shall be holden every year,* “ as another time was ordained by statute :” which statute here referred to, was made in the fourth year of the same reign, c. 14. which, “ accorded that a parliament shall be “ holden *every year once*, and more often if “ need be.” Sir William Blackstone sup- poses that the king never was “ obliged by “ these

“ these statutes to call a new parliament *every*
 “ *year*, but only to permit a parliament to sit
 “ annually, for the redress of grievances and
 “ dispatch of business.” 1 Com. c. 2. p. 153.

It is true, indeed, that our kings in general did not think themselves obliged, by these statutes, to call a parliament every year; nor would many of them have called a parliament at all, had they not been obliged by necessity, and the circumstances of the times; but there never was a parliament held in those times, that was not a new parliament. It is notorious that writs were issued to the sheriffs for *new elections*, almost every year during that whole reign; and these writs, for the most part, are still preserved, with the returns upon them. See Mr. Prynne's *Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva*, p. 4 to 6.

It is by no means to be concluded that *new*

parliaments were not chosen every year of that reign; for many of the writs and returns have been lost. Mr. Prynne found many of them dispersed amongst a vast heap of miscellaneous records on various subjects, as he himself relates in his epistle dedicatory to king Charles the Second, in which he calls the heap, “ a confused chaos, under corroding putrifying cobwebs, dust, and filth, in the darkest corner of Cæsar’s chapel, in the White Tower, as mere *useless reliques, not worthy to be calendred:*” and in p. 103, of the same work, he speaks of one hundred and seventeen bundles of writs, whereof ninety-seven had only then been lately discovered, filed, and bundled by himself: “ but many of these 117 bundles” (says he) “ *are not compleat,* above half or three parts of the writs being either rotted, consumed, maymed, torn, or utterly lost, through carelessness, wet, cankers, or other casualties; and some of them
“ have

“ have not above two, three, or four writs,
 “ and one or two but one writ and return re-
 “ maining.”

That there were really writs for *two*, out of the three years in that reign, which appear to be wanting, is very certain; because it was in the 40th year of that reign, as Sir Edward Coke informs us, (4. Inst. p. 13.) that the Pope demanded homage for the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and the arrears of revenue granted by king John to Pope Innocent III. “ whereupon the king in the *same*
 “ *year*, calleth his court of parliament, &c.” as Sir Edward proves from the parliament rolls of that year, N^o 8.

In the 48th year of the same reign, for which the writ and return is also missing, Sir Richard Baker, in his Chronicle, proves that a parliament was held. “ In his eight
 “ and fortieth year, in a parliament, is granted
 “ him

“ him a tenth of the clergy, and a fifteenth
 “ of the laity, &c.” p. 173 : so that there is
 but *one year* out of many, in which we cannot
 prove the meeting of *annual parliaments*.

Annual writs for *new parliaments* were also
 issued the first eighteen years of the succeeding
 reign, till Richard the Second rendered
 himself absolute.

New parliaments were sometimes elected
 two, three, and even four times in one year ;
 which sufficiently proves that the power, dele-
 gated by the people to their representatives,
 continued no longer in force than during the
 session of the particular parliament to which
 they were summoned ; and Mr. Prynne ex-
 pressly confirms this in the first part of his
 “ *Brief Register*,” p. 334, in which he says,
 “ they presently ceased to be knights, citi-
 “ zens, burgessees, and barons, in any succeed-
 “ ing parliaments or councils, unless *newly*
 “ *elected*

“ *elect*ed and restored to serve in them by the
“ king’s *new writs*.”

The enemies of reform contend that such very frequent elections must be attended with insuperable difficulties and inconveniencies: but we may quote the experience of all ancient times, as affording ample and sufficient proofs to the contrary, “ there not being
“ above two or three cases of elections questioned or complained of from the 49th of
“ Henry the Third, the period of the restoration of representative parliaments, till the
“ 22d. of Edward the Fourth, more than two
“ hundred years; and not so much as one
“ double retorne or indenture, wherewith all
“ the late bundles of writs are stored.” See Prynne Brevia Parl. Rediv. p. 137.

In the present times, we see fifty-eight petitions against undue elections and returns at one general election, as was the case in 1784.

This arises from the complicated state of the right of voting in cities and boroughs, in those particularly incorporated by charter, where the right in some boroughs is acquired by birth, in another by servitude, in a third by gift, in a fourth by purchase, and in a fifth by marrying a wife; and these rights are exercised in some by residents, in others by non-residents, in one place by the mayor, or bailiff, and twelve aldermen only, as at Buckingham, Malmesbury, &c. in another by eight aldermen, and ten or twelve burghesses, as at Bath, Andover, Tiverton, Banbury, &c. in others by an indefinite number of burghesses, freemen, &c. *three, four, or five*, as at Rye, Winchelsea, Romney, &c. In burgage tenure boroughs, the right is still more complicated. The nature, possession, and occupation, of this species of election right is curious; at Midhurst it is in the possession of a hundred stones erected in an open field; at Old Sarum, it is in the remaining part of the foundation of a demo-

demolished castle; at Westbury in a long wall; in many other places it is in the possession of half a score or a dozen old thatched cottages, the conveyances to which are made on parchment the morning of the election to a few trusty friends or dependants, who hold a farcical election, and then return them to the proprietor as soon as the business is finished.

The enormous expence attending the litigation of these complicated and inexplicable rights of election, has, under my own observation, exceeded, in a single contest, three times the amount of the value of the *fee simple* of the whole borough in dispute; and yet they are renewed at each succeeding election in the same manner as if no decision on the right had ever taken place.

These, and innumerable other ruinous expences of elections, such as removing voters from one extreme of the country to another to give their votes, carrying freeholders to
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the county towns, when their votes might be taken in their respective parishes, or even in smaller districts, are radical evils inherent in the present system, and not to be cured without recurring to original rights, or effecting a radical reform. To add the illegal expences incurred in most election contests, such as bribery, treating, printing libels, cockades, and the innumerable contingencies of a modern contest, would excite amazement in the mind of one who had never seen the madness practised upon these occasions.

The ancient right of the people to an *equal representation* and *annual parliaments* being so substantially proved, the charge of innovation reverts to those who have caused, and to those who support, the present abuses of the constitution. The spirit of reform which has manifested itself in many parts of the country, suffered some temporary depression from the apostasy of its leaders in the two houses of parliament,

Mr.

Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond; but it has received no inconsiderable support from the persecution it has experienced, and the virtue and fortitude with which its supporters sustained the fiery conflict. The intrinsic merit of the cause will give it increasing vigour; and as knowledge disseminates itself, the wisdom of an enlightened people will mature it into life.

Mr. Fox has declared in the last debate which took place in the house of commons at the end of the year 1796, that “ he had no
 “ difficulty in saying, that under the present
 “ system, peace could never be procured; *the*
 “ *constitution must be restored*; the voice of the
 “ representatives of the people must prevail
 “ over the executive ministers of the crown;
 “ and the people must be restored to heir just
 “ rights.” Those who remember the more than prophetic warnings of this truly great man, through the unfortunate American contest, and those who have witnessed the truth and
 and

justice with which he appreciated the events of this lamentable war, will dwell with no inconsiderable degree of earnestness on the wisdom of his opinion. May liberty then be the harbinger of peace, and may the genius of both preside over our future destiny.

Present State of the Representation.

ABINGDON.

This borough is as independent as any one can be under the present system. Its right of election is not confined to a corporation of thirteen or twenty-four self-elected individuals, as is the case in many large towns, but is in the inhabitant housekeepers at large, paying scot and lot, agreeable to national right and justice. The Treasury has an agent, or correspondent, in this and in all other boroughs, who is generally paid for his secret services, with a receivership of a county, or a snug sinecure in the post-office, excise,

or

or customs. This agent in many places is an alderman of the corporation, churchwarden of the parish, justice of the peace, and treasurer or trustee of the parish charities. He becomes a member of all the borough clubs, is a constant attendant at parish meetings, and obtains at last such an ascendancy, that even a parish pauper cannot be relieved without his approbation. If he is a man of large property or aspiring ambition, he is sent to parliament himself, and gets a seat at one of the public boards. Bankers and attornies are most commonly selected for this office. He takes care that none but ministerial newspapers are taken in at the public-houses, under the penalty of forfeiting their licence. He has one sent him gratis, which he lends to such as will read it. He never speaks of any man who is known to think for himself, without calling him "Jacobin." He gives the Church! the King! and Mr. Pitt! as the three first toasts at public dinners.

He lends money in small sums to the voters, which he repays himself ten-fold at the election, and (if he be not a clergyman) gets drunk at a rejoicing feast after an Austrian victory. There was no contest in this borough at the last election: Mr. Loveden, the late member, having declined representing it, to stand for the county, the Treasury recommendation of Major Metcalf was accepted without opposition.

Abingdon sent members to a national council the 11th of Edward the Third, and then discontinued till it was restored by charter, November 24, 1557, by Queen Mary.

Right of election, according to the charter of Mary, was vested in the corporation; but by resolution of the House in January 1680, is in the inhabitants paying scot and lot, and not receiving alms.

Same

Same resolution confirmed January 8, 1689.

Confirmed again January 18, 1708.

Number of voters, *six hundred.*

Corporation consists of a mayor, two bailiffs, nine aldermen, and sixteen assistants. The mayor and two bailiffs are the returning officers.

AGMONDESHAM, or AMERSHAM.

Not more than one third part of this small town is within the limits of the borough. That part which constitutes the borough, consists of about one hundred and twenty houses, which are the sole property of William Drake, Esq. whose country seat is at Chardeloes, about a mile from the town. This is one of the private property

boroughs, and is represented by the two sons of the proprietor.

It sent members to parliament the 28, 34, and 35 of Edward the First, and the 1 and 2 of Edward the Second, and was then discontinued, till it was restored by petition, the 21 of James the First.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election resolved by the House, December 11, 1680, and again December 1, 1705, to be in the inhabitants paying scot and lot only.

Returning officers, the constables chosen at the lord's court leet.

Number of voters, one hundred and twenty.

Proprietor, William Drake, Esq.

ST.

ST. ALBANS.

The majority of voters in this town are under the influence of Earl Spencer, who has a seat adjoining to the borough, and Lord Grimstone, whose seat is at Gormanbury in this county. The right of voting here is different from the two former boroughs. The corporation of mayor, aldermen, and freemen, have votes as well as the inhabitant house-keepers paying scot and lot. This borough was amongst those summoned to send members, the 23 of Edward the First; it was afterwards discontinued from the sixth year of Edward the Third, till the first of Edward the Sixth, when it was restored upon petition. Its corporation consists of a mayor, high steward, recorder, twelve aldermen, town-clerk, and twenty-four assistants. It has a liberty, or county of its own, within the county of Hertford, which has a jurisdiction

both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, extending over the parishes of Barnet, Sandridge, Redburne, Cudicot, Shepehele, Busby, Elstree, Langley Abbot, Sarret, Walden Abbots, Hoxton, Ridge, Norton, Rickmersworth, and Watford. This liberty has a gaol, and gaol delivery four times a year. The town is divided into four wards, in each of which are a constable and two churchwardens.

Samuel Ferrand Waddington, Esq. the gentleman who distinguished himself by his zealous and patriotic opposition to the two unpopular acts of the last session, opposed at the last election the joint interest of the two peers. The other candidates were Lord Bingham, brother in law to Earl Spencer, and Mr. T. S. D. Bucknal, nephew to Lord Grimstone. The aristocratic influence was more than three to two against the independent interest, the numbers on the poll being—

For

For Lord Bingham - 378

Mr. Bucknal - 308

Mr. Waddington 208

Right of election, on the 10th of March 1700, was determined to be in the mayor, aldermen, and freemen, and in such householders only as pay scot and lot,

Similar resolution again on the 24th of November, 1705.

Again the 27th April, 1714.

Number of voters, five hundred and sixteen.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patrons, Earl Spencer, and Lord Grimstone.

ALDBOROUGH, *or* ALDEBURGH,
SUFFOLK.

This borough is part of the private property of P. C. Crespigny, Esq. and this gentleman being one of the proprietors of a borough that the minister cannot influence, its representatives are of the same political connection with himself. Aldborough is but a small village, consisting of about one hundred houses. It has sent members since the 13 of Elizabeth,

The corporation should consist of two bailiffs, who are returning officers, and twenty-two burgesses.

Right of election, 1709, 23d December, is in the bailiffs and burgesses not receiving alms.

1715, 16th June, is in the bailiffs and burgessees resident within the said borough, and not receiving alms.

To which the house disagreed.

It is therefore exercised by the inhabitant house-holders paying scot and lot, by immemorial custom.

Number of voters, *eighty*.

Proprietor, P. C. Crespigny, Esq.

ALDBOROUGH, YORKSHIRE.

This is another village with fifty-seven rated houses, sending two members to parliament. The borough is the private property of the Duke of Newcastle, and Mr. Wilkinson of Sheffield; but the latter having only a minority of the houses, the election interest is wholly in the Duke of Newcastle.

This

This village never sent members to parliament till the last year of Philip and Mary, 1558.

Corporation, *none*,

Right of election, 1679, 15 May, in all the inhabitants paying scot and lot only.

1690, 17 May, is not only in the select number of burgessees, holding by burgage tenure in the said borough, but in all the inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, *fifty-seven*.

Returning officer, the lord of the manor's bailiff.

Proprietor, Duke of Newcastle.

ANDOVER.

This a large town containing more than a thousand houses, where the right of election

is confined to a corporation of twenty-four individuals, who elect one another. The inhabitants have no share either in choosing the members, or the magistrates: and as all these corporations possessing exclusive rights of electing members of parliament have some powerful nobleman or opulent commoner who finds it his interest to take the lead and management of their political influence, the election of the members is directed by this patron. The Earl of Portsmouth, who has a seat at Hurstburne, within seven miles of this town, and Joshua Iremonger, of Wharewell, Esq. whose residence and estate is also in the neighbourhood, have the joint command of this corporation.

This town sent members in the 23 of Edward the First, when exclusive summonses were first issued to boroughs, near two hundred years before chartered corporations with elective rights were established. The privilege
of

of electing their members must then have been, according to the custom of that and all antecedent times, in the inhabitants at large ; but we find it discontinued in the second year of Edward the Second, and that it was not restored till the 27 of Elizabeth, when the present corporation was established *by charter*, with those rights which had formerly been exercised by the people at large.

Thus we find the rights of election, which had been exercised by the whole inhabitants in each borough previous to their discontinuing to be summoned by the king or by the sheriff, receive them again on their restoration, as a gift, or favor from the crown, and with such limitations, that four and twenty of the inhabitants are only permitted to re-assume those rights, which were formerly exercised by every man in the district.

This corporation consists of a high steward
and

and recorder, mayor, two justices, nine select men, and twelve burgesses, who have a town clerk, and two serjeants at mace.

Right of election resolved, 1689, April 1, to be in the bailiff, and select number of burgesses only.

Same resolution again, 28 January, 1702.

Number of voters, *twenty-four*.

Returning officer, the bailiff.

Patrons, Earl of Portsmouth, and Joshua Iremonger, Esq.

ANGLESEA COUNTY.

The influence and connection of the Earl of Uxbridge procures the return of a member for this county. It is said that an agreement has

has taken place between this noble peer and Lord Bulkeley, not to oppose each other's nomination in Carnarvonshire and Anglesea, so that Lord Bulkeley influences the return in the former county, and Lord Uxbridge in the latter,

APPLEBY

Has many years been the subject of much litigation and expence between the Thanet and Lonfdale families. The right of voting, although there is no special resolution of the house of commons concerning it, is admitted to be in *burgage tenure*. Hogsties which give votes as burgage-holds, have been purchased at a price exceeding all belief. The Earl of Thanet has now a majority of these voting tenures, and consequently nominates the members. This is only the second borough we have yet come to, whose proprietor is in opposition to the government.

This borough has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation. It has a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen, two bailiffs, and sixteen capital burgessees.

Right of election in the burgage tenures.

Number of voters, upon parchment, about one hundred, but actual possessors, only two.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietor, Earl of Thanet.

ARUNDEL.

This borough has been the subject of much controversy on the score of bribery: but as that charge has been equally applicable to all the boroughs, it would exceed the brevity of
this

this work to enter into a detail which a folio volume would not contain.

The present influence is possessed by the Duke of Norfolk, whose magnificent castle is adjoining to the town, and Sir George Thomas, Bart. who lives four miles from the borough.

Corporation consists of a mayor, aldermen, and burgeses.

It has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First, without intermission.

Right of election, 1693, February 22, is only in the inhabitants of the said borough paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, *one hundred and ninety.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patrons,

Patrons, Duke of Norfolk, and Sir George Thomas, Bart.

ASHBURTON.

This is another burgage tenure borough, in which the tenures giving the right to vote are the property of two individuals.

It first sent members the 26 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 8 of Henry the Fourth, and restored the 16 of Charles the First.

Willis says, that all the house-keepers voted in this borough, until the year 1707. The members are chosen in the school-house.

It has no charter, nor was it ever incorporated.

Right of election—February 26, 1707, resolved that the right of electing members is

G

in

in the free-holders having lands or tenements holden of the same borough only.

March 17, 1710, resolved that the free-holders of the lands and tenements, called *Halfhanger*, and *Holwel* lands, lying within the borough of Ashburton, and subject to pay a borough rent, have a right to vote for members to serve in parliament, for the said borough.

Number of voters, nominally *two hundred*, but actually only *two*.

Returning officer, a portreve appointed at the court leet of the proprietors.

Proprietors, Lord Clinton, and Sir Robert Palk, Bart.

AYLESBURY.

This borough is remarkable for a return of two members, the 14 of Elizabeth, by a woman

man as *lady* and *owner* of the town of Aylebury. This return was received as a good one, and the members took their seats accordingly as her representatives. It is still in the chapel of the rolls, in the bundle of returns of parliamentary writs, and is recited at full in the History of the Boroughs.

This town was made a borough by charter, 1st of Mary, and then empowered to send members to parliament, who were to be elected by a bailiff, nine aldermen, and twelve burgessees: but, by neglect, the corporation became dissolved. The town was one of the royal manors of William the Conqueror, who gave it to one of his favourites, to be held by this tenure, that he should provide litter or straw for the king's bed-chamber, and should furnish him with three eels in the winter, and two green geese in the summer, whenever his majesty came into the neighbourhood.

Right of election, since the time of Dame Packington, has been in all the house-keepers not receiving alms.

This right confirmed by the house, January 28, 1765.

Number of voters, *five hundred*.

Returning officers, the constables.

Patron, Marquis of Buckingham, influences the return of one member.

BANBURY.

This borough, in common with Abingdon, Ewddly, Higham Ferrers, and Monmouth, send but one member each. The right of voting is confined, by a resolution of the house of commons, to a mayor, six aldermen, and twelve burgessees, who, like all other corporations,

tions, are under the influence of an individual.

The family of the Earl of Guildford have long had the management of the borough: but on the vacation of the Hon. Frederick North, in 1794, the corporation chose William Holbech, Esq. a neighbouring gentleman, in opposition to his lordship. At the last general election, in 1796, a reconciliation took place, and Dudley North, Esq. was elected on his lordship's interest.

Corporation. It has had three charters. The first was from Mary in the first year of her reign, who imprivileged it to send one member to parliament, to be chosen by a bailiff, twelve aldermen, and twelve burgeses. The second was from James the First, who changed the title of the chief magistrate from a bailiff, to a mayor, with twelve aldermen, and *six* burgeses. The third was

from George the First, in the year 1718, who again altered it to a mayor, six capital burgesſes, and twelve aſſiſtants, with a high ſteward, recorder, town clerk, and ſerjeant at mace.

Right of election, in the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesſes of Banbury only, 29th December, 1691.

Number of voters, *eighteen*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Earl of Guildford.

BARNSTABLE,

This is what is called an open borough, not being the private property of any individual, or acknowledging the influence of a patron. It has been represented for many years by Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Devaynes, the former

mer of whom was unsuccessfully opposed by Richard Wilson, Esq. in 1790; and the latter was thrown out by the same gentleman at the last general election. Lord Rolle has been attempting to establish an interest in this borough, and may succeed, as the peers have done in most other places, if he thinks proper to persevere.

This borough has a singular proof of the antiquity of parliaments, and the original rights of the people. The corporation consists of a mayor, two aldermen, and twenty-two common-council, beside whom there are near four hundred *common burgessees*, who assume that right by prescription; which they carry as far back as King Athelstan, when the term Burgeses implied the inhabitant of a tything, decennary, or borough; and they still exercise their rights under that character, independent of any of their charters.

It was summoned to send members again, the 23 of Edward the First, discontinued the 17 of Edward the Fourth, and was restored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

It appears to have been first incorporated by Henry the First: it had secondly a charter from King John, who gave it a mayor and bailiffs; thirdly by Mary, who added two aldermen, and a common-council of twenty-two; lastly by James the First, who ratified and confirmed the former charters in the eighth year of his reign.

The state of the poll at the last election was as follows:

Cleveland	-	196
Wilson	-	168
Devaynes	-	158

Right

Right of election, in the corporation and common burgesſes by immemorial uſage.

Number of voters, *three hundred and ſixty*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, *none*.

BATH.

This place exhibits a ſtriking inſtance of the inadequate ſtate of the representation of the people. The whole number of voters for this magnificent and populous city are only eighteen; and even this inſignificant number are not choſen by the inhabitants, but elect one another. Whenever a vacancy happens, which can only be occaſioned by death or reſignation, the remaining ſeven-teen, or a majority of them, appoint a perſon to ſucceed to it. It is difficult to ſay whether
the

the common sense of the nation is most insulted by a nominal election for nominal boroughs, such as Midhurst and Old Sarum, which have not a house, nor an inhabitant, to give them the appearance of population, or by sending two members for a great and populous city, who are chosen by only eighteen individuals. Salisbury, Winchester, Andover, Pool, Portsmouth, and many other large towns, are in a similar situation : but this is surely the most powerful argument in favour of a speedy and radical reform ; and if this shameful disproportion does not evince the necessity of it, the most powerful eloquence would be exerted in vain.

This corporation of eighteen, agreeably to the example of all others of the same description, is under aristocratic patronage.

Bath has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First, without intermission.

Cor-

Corporation consists of a mayor, seven aldermen, two sheriffs, and ten common-council-men, with a recorder, town clerk, and other officers.

Right of election, 26th of January, 1706, in the mayor, aldermen, and common-council only.

Number of voters, *eighteen*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patrons, Marquis of Bath, and Earl Camden.

BEAUMARIS.

This is another borough in which the right of election is confined to a self-elected corporation of twenty-four individuals; and this corporation is again under the influence of a nobleman.

This

This borough first sent a member by act of parliament, the 27 of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation. It was not incorporated till the 4 of Elizabeth, which makes it evident that the right of voting was not originally in a corporation, as it sent a member for some years before its corporation existed.

The corporation consists of a mayor, two bailiffs, and twenty-one burgessees, with a recorder, and other officers.

Right of election, February 18, 1709, in the mayor, bailiffs, and capital burgessees only.

Same resolution confirmed, 3d of March, 1729.

Number of voters, *twenty-four*.

Return-

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Lord Bulkeley.

BEDFORDSHIRE.

A county cannot be ranked as a proprietary interest, nor can it be said to be under the direct and absolute influence of an individual, like an insignificant borough, or a corporate city; but it cannot at the same time be denied, but that a connexion of interests nominate to the representation of every county in Great Britain. In this county, the Duke of Bedford's interest procures the return of one member, and the connexions of government the other. In most counties, the Whigs and Tories, under one of which descriptions the opulent families have for above a century been ranked, to avoid expence, or, as it is more fashionable to express it, "to preserve the peace of the county," agree to a compromise, by which
each

each party is to nominate a member. Thus, as their principles, views, and connexions, are in most instances diametrically opposite, their votes in parliament are so likewise; and as they balance each other upon great political questions, the county representation is thereby deprived even of the inadequate weight possessed by ninety-two, against four hundred and sixty-six, which is the proportion of county members, against those of cities, boroughs, and Scotch members. The ruinous expences also that are attendant on a county contest under the present mode of conducting it, are sufficient to deter any man in his senses, from embarking his fortune and happiness in such an attempt. This part of the present system, though not exposed to the corruption that has so frequently been detected in the other parts of it, is equally repugnant to every idea of a free election, and stands equally in need of a reform.

BEDFORD TOWN.

This borough has for many years exercised a considerable degree of independence, and is at present represented by two gentlemen as eminent for that character, as ever sat in the house of commons; but it is at the same time as certain that the Duke of Bedford possesses an interest, which, if it was to be opposed to that of the members, would render their return extremely doubtful.

Mr. Howard, the celebrated philanthropist, was a candidate and a petitioner for a seat in parliament for this borough in 1774, in conjunction with the late Mr. Whitbread, in which the latter was successful; but as the reports of these investigations are substantially given in the History of the Boroughs, it would be exceeding the limits to which this work is confined, to enter on matters of so much latitude.

Bedford

Bedford has sent members since the 23 of Edward the Third, without intermission.

Its corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, deputy recorder, two bailiffs, thirteen common council, an uncertain number of aldermen, as all who have served the office of mayor are reputed aldermen; but these must not exceed the number of twelve. This charter was granted in 1664 by Charles the Second.

Right of election, in the burgesses, free-men, and inhabitants, being house-holders, and not receiving alms, 12 April, 1690.

Number of voters, *fourteen hundred.*

Returning officers, the mayor, and two bailiffs.

Patron, Duke of Bedford.

GREAT BEDWIN

Is another proprietary borough; the right of voting is in fourscore ancient houses, or the land on which those houses formerly stood, the whole of which belongs to the Earl of Aylesbury, who is lord of the manor, and appoints a portreve annually at his court leet to return the members.

This borough sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 8 of Edward the Second, and restored the 36 of Edward the Third.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, 29 March, 1729, in the freeholders, and inhabitants of ancient bur-gage messuages.

Number of voters, nominally *eighty*, actually only *one*.

H

Return-

Returning officer, a portreve called a mayor, who is chosen as above, and appoints a bailiff under him.

Proprietor, Earl of Aylesbury.

BEERALSTON.

Another proprietary borough belonging to the Earl of Beverley. The right of voting is in seventy burgage tenures, paying a three-penny rent per annum to the lord of the borough. It first sent members the 27 of Elizabeth.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, 6 June, 1721, in the freehold tenants of the said borough, holding by burgage tenure, and paying three-pence per annum, or more, ancient burgage rent to the lord of the said borough, and in them only.

The whole number of houses, or rather cottages, in this borough, does not exceed forty.

Number of voters, nominally *seventy*, actually only *one*.

Returning officer, a portreve appointed by the court leet of the lord.

Proprietor, Earl of Beverley.

BERKSHIRE

Is in a situation similar to the last county. Lord Craven and his interest bring in one member, and the connections of the minister the other. An opposition was made at the late election by Mr. Loveden, member in the last parliament for Abingdon, to these united interests. The strength of the independent party may be seen in the state of the poll, the numbers at the final close of it being—

For Mr. Vanfittart	-	-	1332
Mr. Charles Dundas			1332
Mr. Loveden	-	-	846

BERWICK, NORTHUMBERLAND.

Lord Delaval influences the return of one member for this borough, and has for a long time been attempting to carry both. Mr. Callander is the other member on what is called the independent interest. The parties are all engaged in law, as is the case in all disputed boroughs. The independents have invalidated the late election of mayor, and, if they should succeed in getting the magistrates, will probably overturn the aristocratic influence.

This borough was incorporated by king John, but did not send members till the reign of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation

Corporation consists only of six persons besides officers, a mayor, one alderman, and four bailiffs, all of them chosen annually out of the burgesſes at large of the town. The officers are a recorder, town-clerk, &c.

Right of election, 9 March, 1695, in the freemen reſident and non-reſident.

Number of voters, *ſix hundred*.

Returning officers, the mayor, and four bailiffs.

Patron, Lord Delaval, one member.

BEVERLEY.

Lord Yarborough commands what is here called the Bar intereſt, which conſiſts of about two hundred voters out of a thouſand; and this number, by joining one or other of

the contesting parties at an election, enables his lordship to name one of the members.

This borough sent members the 23 of Edward the Third, was discontinued the 1 of Edward the Second, and restored the 5 of Elizabeth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twelve governors, and twelve inferior burgeses.

Right of election is in the freemen of the town, who acquire this right by birth, servitude, or purchase. First, a freeman's son, if born within the liberties of the borough, is entitled to his freedom when of the age of twenty-one years. Secondly, an apprentice for seven years, to a freeman residing within the liberties of the borough, upon the expiration of that term, is admitted to his freedom on paying a fine of forty-eight shillings.

lings. Thirdly, the freedom is to be obtained by purchase, provided the politics of the purchaser be approved by the corporation. There is a standing order that a day-labourer shall not be made free for a less sum than thirty guineas; and that every other person shall pay proportionably according to his circumstances, trade, or occupation, at the discretion of the body corporate; and a candidate to represent the borough may purchase his freedom for fifty guineas.

The corporation have refused to admit to his freedom a capital tradesman in that town, although he offered them a candidate's price, fifty guineas; his opinions not exactly coinciding with those adopted by the corporation.

Number of voters, *one thousand*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Lord Yarborough, one member.

BEWDLEY.

The right of election in this borough is confined to a corporation of *thirteen*; and this select body of electors is under the influence of Lord Lyttelton.

It first sent members by *charter* in the reign of James the First.

Corporation consists of a bailiff, and twelve capital burgesſes, with a recorder, town-clerk, &c.

Right of election, 28 April 1662, in the bailiff and burgesſes, appointed by the charter of 3 of James the First, exclusive of all others.

27 May, 1679, all the inhabitants of the borough of Bewdley have not a right to vote.

Number

Number of voters, *thirteen*.

Returning officer, the bailiff.

Patron, Lord Lyttelton.

BISHOP'S-CASTLE.

This is a proprietary borough, belonging to Lord Clive. It consists of about a hundred houses, which are all his lordship's property.

It first sent members the 15 of Elizabeth.

Corporation consists of a bailiff, recorder, and fifteen aldermen.

Right of election, 3 February, 1699, agreed to be in the bailiff, and all the burgessees within the borough.

Number of voters, *fifty*.

Return-

Returning officer, the bailiff.

Proprietor, Lord Clive.

BLECHINGLY

Is another proprietary borough belonging to Sir Robert Clayton, the burgage-holds or tenements giving the right of voting being all his property.

This borough has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Right of election, 22 March, 1723, resolved to be in the burgage-holders, and that the bailiff had nothing to do with the election.

Corporation, *none*.

Number of voters, nominally *ninety*, actually only *one*.

Return-

Returning officer, *none*.

Proprietor, Sir Robert Clayton, Bart.

BODMYN.

This is a corporation borough, where the right of voting is exercised by thirty-six individuals; and this corporate body had long been under the direction of Mr. Hunt, who represented it in parliament for many years. Sir John Morshead, Bart. has, however, contrived to get these electors under his management, and the late return was made under his patronage. The corporation has so contrived to mismanage matters, as to forfeit their charter; and it is even doubted whether any legal election can now be made for members to represent this borough, till a new charter can be procured. In obtaining this instrument, the baronet is said to meet with a powerful rival in Lord Grenville, who is supposed

posed to have taken a fancy to this borough. In that case his lordship may perhaps fill up the new charter with the names of the officers and clerks of some neighbouring dock-yard, as was done in the Saltash charter a few years since. However, this *important* business will most probably be settled before another election.

This borough first sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 17 of Edward the Fourth, and restored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation—the charter which is now forfeited, was granted the 15 of James the First. It consisted of a mayor, eleven aldermen, and twenty-four burgessees.

Right of election was in this corporation.

Number of voters, *thirty-six*.

Return-

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Sir John Morshead, Bart.

BOROUGHBRIDGE

Is a borough in the same parish with Aldborough already mentioned, and belongs to the same proprietor, the Duke of Newcastle. Though these two boroughs are in the same parish, the right of voting, as it is called, is different. In Aldborough, the right is in the house-keepers; in this borough, it is in the burgage-holders; but as the houses in the former, and the burgage-holds in the latter, are the property of one person, the whole right of appointing members of parliament is in fact vested in that person only.

It first sent members in 1553, the first year of Queen Mary.

Corporation, *none*.

Right

Right of election—no charter, nor resolution of the house to ascertain this right.

Number of voters, nominally *sixty-five*, actually only *one*.

Returning officer, a bailiff appointed at the court leet of the lord of the manor.

Proprietor, Duke of Newcastle.

BOSSINEY, *alias* TINTAGEL.

The freemen, or borough-men, as they are called in this place, possess the right of election. Though this borough has no corporation, nor ever had a charter, it has a titular mayor, and titular freemen; and this titular body elect the members. It was in great danger of being annihilated in 1781: only *one* of this titular society was then left in existence, and the
general

general election happening in that year, the important task of electing two members of parliament rested with this consequential individual. A similar circumstance occurred in 1790, when Richard Pennel being the only surviving member of the corporation under an old charter, returned two members to represent the borough of Hellstone. Richard Pennel has now got five and thirty assistants in the business of member-making; and Arthur Wade, who in his own person preserved the rights of his borough from becoming extinct, has also, to prevent a similar danger, had three more *titular freemen* added to himself for the same purpose.

This titular borough is under the joint influence, and at the joint disposal of the Hon. Wortley Stuart, brother to the Marquis of Bute, and the Earl of Mount Edgumbe.

It

It was first summoned to send members the 7 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election—no resolution on this question, but presumed to be in those who have free land in the borough, and live in the parish. This land belonging to the two noblemen above mentioned, the right is of course in them.

Number of voters, *four*.

Returning officer, the titular mayor.

Proprietors, Earl of Mount Edgumbe, and the Hon. Wortley Stuart.

BOSTON.

This borough is partly under the influence of the Duke of Ancafter, and partly under that of Thomas Fydel, Esq. a very opulent merchant of this town, and one of its

present members. There is also an independent party, which at present does not consist of more than one third part of the constituent body, and consequently is incapable of opposing the united strength of the other two. This party, however, succeeded in returning Mr. Watherstone in 1784; and they proposed, and very honourably to themselves supported, Mr. Samuel Barnard, a banker of the town, and a very respectable and independent character, at the last election, free of expence. At the close of the poll, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fydel - - 290

Lord Milfington - - 251

Mr. Barnard - - 95

Thus the cause of independence was for that time unsuccessful; but it is by no means so certain that it will not succeed in bringing in one if not both members, at another election.

This town sent members to the national council the 11 of Edward the Third, was discontinued the 27 of the same reign, and restored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, a recorder, twelve aldermen, eighteen common-council-men, a town clerk, judge, and marshal of the admiralty, a coroner, and two sergeants at mace.

Right of election, 8 March, 1628, in the commonalty.

20 March, 1711, only in the mayor, aldermen, common-council, and freemen of the said borough, resident in it, and paying scot and lot.

2 March, 1719, explained to mean such freemen only as claim their freedom by birth or servitude.

This

This last resolution precludes such of the freemen as obtain their freedom by purchase, of which description there are many in the town of Boston.

Number of voters, *three hundred and eighty.*

Patrons, Duke of Ancafter, and Thomas Fydel, Esq.

BRACKLEY

Is a corporation borough, in which the right of choosing members is in thirty-two individuals.

It first sent members the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation is composed of a mayor, five aldermen, and twenty-six burgesses.

Right of election, 20 April, 1714, in the mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the ſaid borough.

Number of voters, *thirty-two*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Duke of Bridgewater.

BRAMBER.

This borough conſiſts of about fourteen old thatched cottages, at the end of a long ſtreet, the upper part of which conſtitutes the borough of Steyning, and alſo ſends two members to parliament, as well as this miſerable hamlet. The number of burgage-holds which give the right of voting for this borough, are ſix and thirty, one moiety of which belong to the Duke of Rutland, the other to Lord Calthorpe; conſequently each of theſe noble-men returns a member.

It sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued in the reign of Edward the Second, and restored the 31 of Henry the Sixth.

From the year 1298 to 1472, this borough was joined with Steyning in the writs for electing members; since which time they have elected as different boroughs.

Right of election, 18 January, 1703, is in the persons inhabiting houses built on ancient foundations, paying scot and lot.

10 March, 1715, same resolution confirmed.

Corporation, *none*.

Number of voters, *fourteen*.

Returning officer, a constable appointed at the Duke of Norfolk's court leet.

Proprietors, Duke of Rutland, and Lord Calthorpe.

BRECON COUNTY.

The influence of Sir Charles Morgan, Bart. procures at all times the undisputed return of the member for this county.

BRECON TOWN

Is exactly under the same influence as the county.

It first sent members with all the rest of the principality of Wales in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation consists of two bailiffs, twelve aldermen, and fifteen common-council-men.

Right of election in the corporation and free burgesses.

Num-

Number of voters, *one hundred.*

Returning officers, the two bailiffs,

Patron, Sir Charles Morgan.

BRIDGENORTH

Is under the influence of John Whitmore, Esq. one of the directors of the Bank, who has a seat at Apley in the neighbourhood of the town, and whose ancestors have represented it in all the parliaments since the 18 of James the First.

This borough has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First, without intermission.

Corporation consists of two bailiffs annually elected out of twenty-four aldermen, by a jury of fourteen, together with a recorder,

forty-eight common-council-men, a town clerk, and other officers.

Right of election in the corporation and freemen within and without the borough, by custom.

Number of voters, *seven hundred.*

Patron, John Whitmore, Esq.

BRIDGEWATER.

Earl Paulet has a partial influence in this borough, which procures the return of one of its members. The right of election is in the inhabitant house-keepers; but that right is circumscribed here, as it is at Agmondesham, Lewes, Guildford, Shrewsbury, and many other places, to the inhabitants of one half of the town only; so that when we speak of the members for Bridgewater, &c. we should re-
colle

collect they are only members for a part of those places. Here is another very important defect in the present representative system. The few towns which have the privilege of representation in the legislature, have their members either chosen by a corporation of from twelve to thirty self-elected individuals, or where the right of election has been suffered to remain with the inhabitants, it has been confined to such part of them as inhabit within a circle of a few yards in the centre or sag-end of the town, which has the name only of electing members of parliament.

This borough has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First. It was made a free borough by King John, and had a charter of incorporation from Henry the Fourth. Elizabeth granted it another charter in the 29th year of her reign.

Corpo-

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, two aldermen, who are justices of the peace, two bailiffs, and twenty-two common-council-men.

The bailiffs have the power of sheriffs within the borough: the sheriff of the county cannot send his process within their jurisdiction.

The revenues of this corporation are very considerable. They have the manor of the borough, the great and small tythes, and estates in Dorsetshire, valued altogether at ten thousand pounds per annum.

Right of election. There are no less than four determinations respecting this right.

7 December, 1669, it was resolved to be in such of the corporation only, who inhabited that division of the parish of Bridgewater,

water, which is commonly called the borough,
paying scot and lot within the said division.

10 December, 1692, it was resolved to be
in those that pay scot and lot inhabiting the
said borough.

9 March, 1769, if the mayor, aldermen,
and capital burgessees, are not inhabitants,
though they pay scot and lot, yet they have
no right to vote.

14 March, 1769, the inhabitants of the
eastern and western division of the parish of
Bridgewater have no right to vote for re-
presentatives; but the right of election is in
the inhabitants of that division of the said
parish, which is commonly called the borough,
paying scot and lot within the said division,
and in them only.

Number of voters, *two hundred and seventy.*

Re-

Returning officer, the mayor.
 Patron, Earl Paulet, one member.

BRIDPORT

Is one of the very few boroughs in Great Britain which can lay a positive claim to independence. The treasury made an unsuccessful attempt to bring in one member at the last election, and sent Mr. Burgess, brother-in-law to the late Serjeant Watson, who had been chosen for this borough on the interest of the dissenters, on a presumption that as he had formerly been a sectarian minister, he would have adhered to the independent political principles almost universally professed by dissenters of every denomination; but the reverend Serjeant adopting a different line of conduct, he would not have procured his reelection for this borough, had the chief justiceship of India allowed him avocation to try

try the experiment. Mr. Burgess, therefore, adventuring upon apostate recommendation, had the mortification to find the borough of Bridport was not to be alarmed into a surrender of its independence.

The state of the poll was as follows:

Barclay - - 136

Sturt

119

Burgess

100

This borough first sent members the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation. It was made a borough by Henry the Third, and afterwards received two other charters from Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth; but the charter under which it is governed at present was granted by James the First. The corporation is composed of two bailiffs, thirteen capital burgesses, a recorder, and town clerk.

Right of election—2 April, 1628, resolved that the commonalty in general ought to have votes in the election of burgessees to serve in parliament for the borough of Bridport.

5 May, 1715, that it is in all the inhabitants not receiving alms.

2 March, 1762, resolved that the words, "commonalty in general," extend only to inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, *two hundred and thirty*.

Returning officers, the two bailiffs.

Patron, none.

BRISTOL.

This city, which is the second in England in population and in wealth, has been brought

as compleatly under aristocratic influence by the management of a few leading men, and the folly of the electors, as the borough of Old Sarum. The freemen have suffered themselves to be parcelled out into a Whig and a Tory club. Two or three individuals, who have more sense than their followers, put themselves at the head of each of these unmeaning associations, and by inflaming the passions of each party, keep up a rancorous animosity against each other. To give the appearance of greater weight and consequence to their respective factions, a nobleman is sought out for a patron, who condescends to make them his tools. The Whigs have recourse to the Duke of Portland, and the Tories to the Duke of Beaufort; each of whom recommends a candidate; and as both the noble patrons happen to be on the ministerial side of the question, the leaders of each faction pretend to feel great concern for the peace of the city, and express

express the most earnest wishes to prevent the expences and debauchery attendant on the present mode of conducting a Bristol contest; and as it was previously settled by their patrons, the leaders of the clubs recommend the nomination of a candidate by each party, and a coalition of the two against any other gentleman who may offer himself, or be proposed by any independent freeman.

Thus the freedom of election is sacrificed to the self-interest of a few individuals, and the prejudices of the multitude are made subservient to their measures.

At the last election Lord Sheffield was nominated by the Whig, and Mr. Bragge by the Tory club. Mr. Hobhouse was proposed as a candidate by some of the independent freemen; but the event of one day's poll convinced them how inadequate the spirit of independence was to a contention with such
a weight

a weight of influence, prejudice, and folly.

The numbers on the poll were—

For Mr. Bragge - - 364

Lord Sheffield - 340

Mr. Hobhouse - 102

Right of election, in the freeholders, having freeholds of forty shillings a year, and the free burgesses.

Bristol has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, high steward, eleven aldermen, two sheriffs, forty-eight common-council-men, town-clerk, and other officers. Bristol was made a mayor town at the beginning of the reign of Henry the Third; and in the 47 of Edward the Third, it was made a county of itself, independent of Gloucestershire and Somersetshire.

K

Number

Number of voters, *five thousand*.

Returning officers, the two sheriffs.

Patrons, Duke of Beaufort and Duke of Portland.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

The influence of this county is at present possessed by the Duke of Portland and Marquis of Buckingham, who each return a member.

BUCKINGHAM BOROUGH.

This is not the county town, as might be supposed from the name, but an insignificant borough, composed of less than two hundred houses.

The right of election here, as at Bewdley,
Malmesbury,

Malmesbury, and several other boroughs, is vested in a corporation of thirteen individuals, who are all the dependents of the Marquis of Buckingham.

It first sent members the 11 of Edward the Third, was discontinued the next year, and restored the 36 of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, and twelve burgessees.

Right of election, November 11, 1690, is in the bailiff, and twelve burgessees only.

Number of voters, *thirteen*.

Patron, Marquis of Buckingham.

CALLINGTON.

The right of election in this borough is in sixty-two burgage tenures, the major part of

which belong to Lord Clinton, and the remainder to Mr. Buller, and Mr. Coryton.

It was the last borough in Cornwall that was summoned to send members; it returned none till the 27 of Elizabeth.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election. No determination of the house; but the custom at present limits it to burgage tenures paying scot and lot. The freeholders also have a dormant claim; but the inhabitants paying scot and lot exercised that privilege formerly, and are presumed to have the best right.

Number of voters, nominally *sixty-two*, actually only *one*.

Returning officer, a portreve chosen at the court leet of the lord of the manor.

Proprietor, Lord Clinton.

CALNE.

CALNE.

The right of election here is in a corporation of twenty-four ancient burgesses, who are under the patronage of the Marquis of Lansdown; these burgesses are appointed by two guild stewards, who are chosen annually by the remaining twenty-two burgesses, so that the stewards appoint the burgesses, the burgesses appoint the stewards, and the major part of the two choose the members of parliament.

This borough has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation, as above described.

Right of election is in the inhabitants of the borough having a right of common, and being sworn at Ogbourn court, December 22, 1710.

25 February, 1723, is in the ancient bur-
gesses of the said borough only.

Number of voters, *twenty-four*.

Returning officers, the guild stewards,

Patron, Marquis of Lansdown.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Is at present under the joint influence of
the Duke of Rutland and the Earl of Hard-
wick.

CAMBRIDGE BOROUGH.

This borough is entirely under the in-
fluence of the Duke of Rutland, whose agent
during his minority is John Mortlake, Esq.
a banker of this town. This gentleman holds
the lucrative offices of receiver-general of the
post-office in London, and commissioner of
the tax-office; but it is said he only holds the
former

former as *locum tenens* to a lady of rank, who is supposed to receive the perquisites of that place.

Cambridge sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 17 of Edward the Fourth, and restored the 33 of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, high steward, twelve aldermen, two bailiffs, and a common-council.

Right of election, 24 February, 1709, in the mayor, bailiffs, and freemen, not receiving alms.

Number of voters, *two hundred*.

Returning officers, the bailiffs.

Patron, Duke of Rutland.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

The influence of this learned body is always with the minister for the time being.

The two universities first sent members of James the First.

Right of election, in the doctors and masters of arts only.

Number of voters, *twelve hundred*.

Returning officers, the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges.

Present patron, Right Hon. W. Pitt.

CAMELFORD.

This borough has for many years been under the management and influence of Sir Jonathan Phillips, knight, and the right of voting

voting was assumed by a corporation of seventeen freemen. At the last election, Lord Preston and Robert Adair, Esq. became candidates on the right of the inhabitants paying scot and lot. The seventeen freemen polled for Mr. Dennison, jun. and Mr. Angerstein, who were supported by the patron; and Lord Preston and Mr. Adair tendered the votes of twenty-eight inhabitant house-keepers, paying scot and lot. These were all refused by the mayor, who acted as returning officer. A petition was therefore presented to the house on the meeting of the present parliament, by the latter candidates, in behalf of the right of the house-holders. The committee determined that the right in such of the freemen only as were resident house-keepers within the borough, paying scot and lot. There being only *nine* out of the seventeen, who reside within the borough, the right of voting is now reduced to that number. The whole nine having voted for

Mr. Dennison and Mr. Angerstein, they kept their seats, and Sir Jonathan Phillips keeps the borough for the present.

As the borough itself is mostly the property of the Duke of Bedford, the influence of it must of course be subject to him at a future election.

This borough has sent members since the 6 of Edward the Sixth.

Right of election, 1796, in such of the burgesses as are resident house-keepers and pay scot and lot.

Corporation consists of a mayor, eight capital burgesses, and ten freemen, only nine of whom are resident, and thereby qualified to vote for members of parliament.

Number of voters, *nine*.

Return-

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Sir Jonathan Phillips, knight.

CANTERBURY

Is one of the few places which remain independent of a patron. The late members, Sir John Honeywood and Mr. Gipps, were supported with the weight of ministerial influence, which it is well known is not inconsiderable, at the last election; but Mr. Sawbridge, son of the late venerable and respected member for London, and Mr. Baker a neighbouring country gentleman, were successful on the independent interest. The numbers on the poll were—

For J. Baker, Esq.	-	-	774
S. E. Sawbridge, Esq.	-	-	744
Sir J. Honeywood	-	-	724
Geo. Gipps, Esq.	-	-	704

This election was declared void on the
 7 petition

petition of Sir John Honeywood and Mr. Gipps. On the second election, which was held on Friday, March the 17th, the ministerial candidates were defeated by a more decisive majority; the numbers being—

For J. Baker, Esq.	-	-	485
S. E. Sawbridge, Esq.	-	-	470
Sir J. Honeywood	-	-	195
Mr. Gipps	-	-	185

This election was the free voice of the people; for there was neither a cockade given, a house opened, nor any one act used which could be constituted bribery or corruption.

This city has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation—It is governed by a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen, a sheriff, and twenty-four common-council-men, who have a town clerk, sword-bearer, and four serjeants at mace.

Right

Right of election, in the freemen at large.

Number of voters, *fifteen hundred.*

Returning officer, the sheriff.

Patron, *none.*

CARDIFF

Is under the patronage of the Marquis of Bute, who obtained it by marriage with the heiress of the late Lord Windsor, together with Cardiff castle, and the extensive estates of that nobleman.

It first sent a member the 27 of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, who is constable of the castle, two bailiffs, ten aldermen, and twelve common-council-men.

Right of election, in the burghesses of Cardiff,

diff, Aberavon, Cowbridge, Kenfig, Llantrisant, Neath, Lougher, and Swansea.

Number of voters, *one thousand*.

Patron, Marquis of Bute.

CARDIGANSHIRE.

The interest of the Earl of Lisburne and Lord Cawder carries the election in this county.

CARDIGAN TOWN.

The interest which commands this borough is very much divided. The Earl of Lisburne, Lord Cawder, Thomas Johnes, Esq. of Croft Castle, John Adams, Esq. Edward Loveden, Esq. and Thomas Powel, Esq. of Nanteis, have each a powerful influence. Mr. Johnes has the preponderating weight: and as he at present

sent represents the county under the joint influence of the Earl of Lisburne and Lord Cawder, he has permitted those noblemen alternately to nominate to this borough.

It has sent a member since the 27 of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, two bailiffs, and twelve aldermen.

Right of election, 7 May, 1730, in the burghesses at large of the boroughs of Cardigan, Aberystwith, Lampeter, and Atpar, only.

Number of voters, *twelve hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patrons, Thomas Johnes, Esq. &c. &c.

CAR-

CARLISLE.

The influence of this city has been contested for many years with great exertion and expence, by the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Londsdale, but has always been decided in favour of the former, to the no small joy and satisfaction of the inhabitants of this city, and those of the surrounding country.

The whole number of electors in this city are near seven hundred, a considerable majority of whom being adverse to the Londsdale influence, the noble Earl, who had the corporation though not the freemen on his side, prevailed on the former to create no less than *fourteen hundred* additional or honorary freemen in one day, who were mostly selected from the collieries and estates of his Lordship.

This

This precedent, had it been established and pursued, would have enabled the corporations in many boroughs to effect the most extensive *innovations*, without the assistance of an act of parliament: it however happened otherwise. The right of these fourteen hundred *faggots* has been three times tried upon petition, and once upon appeal, by committees of the house of commons, and every time decided against them.

At the last election, the noble Earl having had a final decision against his honorary freemen, offered two candidates, Sir James Graham, and Edward Knuble, Esq. for the suffrages of the seven hundred legal freemen whom he had attempted to reduce to the most abject insignificance by the late creation of honorary electors: and such is the state of human weakness, or the power of aristocratic influence, that it was doubtful for several days whether their old champion, and

L

defender

defender of their rights, Mr. Curwen, who had been at the expence of four contests, and four controverted petitions in maintaining the very privilege they were about to exercise, would be re-elected their member.

The poll was protracted by the Lonsdale party for fifteen days, the longest period permitted by law, though it might have been concluded in one. At the final close of the election, however, the cause of virtue and independence triumphed; the numbers being—

For John Christian Curwen, Esq.	-	399
Sir Frederic Fletcher Vane,	-	390
Sir James Graham	-	288
Edward Knubley, Esq.	-	277

A petition has been presented against the return by the unsuccessful candidates, but perhaps

perhaps with as little prospect of success as attended the four former ones.

This city sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 17 of Edward the Fourth, and restored the 33 of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation. Notwithstanding the former charters, the corporation is now deemed prescriptive. Its present form is derived from a charter of Charles the First, consisting of a mayor, recorder, eleven aldermen, two bailiffs, and twenty-four capital burgesses. There are likewise in the corporation eight trading companies or guilds, whose privileges are prescriptive; namely, the merchants, tanners, skinners, butchers, tailors, weavers, shoemakers, and smiths. Persons born the sons of freemen, or having served a regular apprenticeship to freemen, and having been ad-

mitted to the brotherhood of any of these guilds, are entitled to the freedom of the city, and the privilege of voting for members of parliament.

Right of election—There are three different determinations on the journals respecting this right: but as the last was upon an appeal, and therefore made final by the late amendment of the Grenville Act, I shall only transcribe this, as it is to govern all future elections for this city.

3 March, 1791, resolved that the right of election for the city of Carlisle, in the county of Cumberland, is in the freemen of the said city, duly admitted and sworn freemen of the said city, having been previously admitted brethren of one of the eight guilds or occupations of the said city, and deriving their title to such freedom by being sons of freemen, or
by

by service of seven years' apprenticeship to a freeman resident, during such apprenticeship, within the said city, and *in no others.*

This determination expunges every claim of the fourteen hundred honorary freemen.

Number of voters, *six hundred and eighty-five.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Duke of Norfolk.

CARMARTHENSHIRE.

Lord Dynevor has a considerable interest in this county, but it is not absolute.

CARMARTHEN BOROUGH.

Very powerful exertions, and such as can-

not be said to be strictly constitutional, have been made at the two last elections, to overturn the independence of this borough; the first by the right reverend father in God, Doctor Horsley, now bishop of Rochester, who was at that time bishop of St. David's, who, in his zeal for church discipline, and the preservation of those two *wholesome* scourges, the test and corporation acts, so far forgot his attachment to the constitution at the moment, as to write the following letter to such of the clergy of his diocese who had votes for the town of Carmarthen.

“ *Aberguilly, August 24, 1785,*

“ Sir William Mansel has declared himself a
 “ candidate for the borough of Carmarthen in
 “ the next parliament; I cannot refrain from
 “ declaring that he has my heartiest good
 “ wishes.

“ Mr. Phillips, the present member, has

“ received the thanks of the Dissenters, for
 “ the part he took in a late attempt to over-
 “ throw our *excellent* ecclesiastical constitution,
 “ by the repeal of the corporation and test acts;
 “ which I will venture to pronounce, *are as wise*
 “ *and salutary laws as any in our code.* By this
 “ it is easy to guess what part he is likely to
 “ take in any future attempt for that purpose.
 “ I trust I shall not have the mortification to
 “ find a single clergyman in my diocese, who
 “ will be so false to his own character and
 “ fame, and to his duty to the established
 “ church, as to give his vote to a man *who*
 “ *has ventured to discover such principles.*

“ I am, Rev. Sir,

“ You affectionate brother and servant,

“ SAMUEL ST. DAVID'S.”

This pious letter did not operate at all to
 Mr. Phillips's disadvantage; on the contrary,
 it served to confirm, in the enlightened part of
 the electors, that esteem for the liberality and

justice of their member's principles, which has been manifested to him by their re-election of him at that period, and again in 1796, free of all expence.

At the last election, an attempt was made by Lord Dynevor to establish a patronage in this borough, but with as little success as had before attended the exertions of the orthodox bishop. Mr. Magens, brother-in-law to Lord Dynevor, was proposed as a candidate; and the mayor, by refusing admission to several freemen who had a legal claim to it, and thereby depriving Mr. Phillips of their votes, made a colourable majority on the poll for the former; but a petition was in consequence presented to the house, which was one of the first brought to a decision in the present parliament, when Mr. Magens's election was declared void, and Mr. Phillips determined to be duly elected.

This

This borough has sent a member since the 27 of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, two sheriffs, and twenty common-councilmen, of which number such as have served the office of mayor are styled aldermen.

Right of election, 7 March, 1727, is in the burgesses of the said borough.

Number of voters, *one hundred and forty.*

Returning officers, the sheriffs.

Patron, *none.*

It is a duty to which the electors of this borough are peculiarly entitled, to state that they not only elected Mr. Phillips free of all expence, but likewise defrayed the charges of the petition, and at his return to his constituents,

ents, his entrance into Carmarthen resembled in some degree the triumph of a Roman conqueror. His electors came several miles on the road to meet him and welcome his return. The principal gentlemen of the county joined the procession in their carriages, and the inhabitants of that part of the country all joined in the respect that was shewn to their independent member. How different must his conduct have appeared to the divine vision of a bishop, and the vulgar eye of the people !

CARNARVONSHIRE.

The leading interests in this county are those of the Earl of Uxbridge and Lord Bulkeley. It is understood that these noble lords have agreed that the former shall not oppose the latter in this county, nor the latter oppose the former in Anglesea. Notwithstanding this agreement, an opposition was
made

made at the last election to Sir Robert Williams, the gentleman who had the interest of Lord Bulkeley, and against the powerful union of these noblemen; but it was attended with very little success, the numbers at the close of the poll being—

For Sir Robert Williams	690
Lord Penrhyn	- 370

It was in this contest that the adventure of the boxing bishop occurred, which has been the subject of an indictment, and a public trial, the particulars of which are too generally known to require recapitulation.

CARNARVON BOROUGH.

This borough is at present under the patronage of the Earl of Uxbridge; but his influence is by no means absolute or secure.

It

It sent members since the 27 of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, who is constable of the castle, one alderman, two bailiffs, a common-council, town-clerk, &c.

Right of election, in the burgeses of Carnarvon, Criccieth, Pwlllely, Nevin, and Conway.

Number of voters, *seven hundred.*

Returning officers, the mayor and bailiffs.

Patron, Earl of Uxbridge.

CASTLE RISING.

This borough is not quite so destitute of inhabitants as Old Sarum and Midhurst, those places not having a house, cottage, or hut

hut in either of them. In Castle Rising there are TWO HOUSES, which return TWO MEMBERS TO PARLIAMENT. In the city of Westminster, twenty thousand houses send the same number: Birmingham, Manchester, and Sheffield, which on an average contain fifteen thousand houses each, have no representation.—Can any thing demonstrate in more powerful colours the imperfect and inadequate state of the representation of this country, or prove more forcibly the necessity and justice of reform?

Castle Rising was formerly a considerable place: but the harbour becoming choaked up with sand, it lost its trade and inhabitants, and became a deserted village.

It has sent members since the 5 of Philip and Mary.

Corporation.—It has a corporation composed

posed of a few dependents of the two proprietors of the borough.

Right of election, in the burgessees composing this corporation, who never see the borough except at an election.

Number of voters, actually only *two*.

Returning officer, the nominal mayor.

Proprietors, Earl Cholmondeley, and Richard Howard, Esq. receiver general of the land-tax for the city of London, and county of Middlesex.

CHESTER COUNTY.

This county is represented by compromise like most other counties. Each party sends one member.

CHES-

CHESTER CITY.

Earl Grosvenor has the absolute command of this city, which he has possessed for more than a century. This influence is maintained by his lordship obtaining a lease from the crown of a number of tenements in this city, belonging to the earldom of Chester, which he permits the corporation, who are all his dependents, to let from year to year to such freemen only as they find no difficulty in commanding.

The tenements are let at low rents ; and the possession of them operates so far on the fears and necessities of the occupiers, as to secure their obedience to the dictates of their masters ; persons in this situation seldom reflect that their indifference in the choice of their
repre-

representatives occasions them to pay more in taxes than they save in their rents.

Ralph Eddowes, Esq. a merchant of this city, of great respectability and opulent fortune, who has some years since left this country for America, opposed this torrent of influence for some years, and obtained a decision of the Court of King's Bench against the validity of their last charter, granted by Charles the Second, by which the corporation were to choose each other, and thereby restored the more liberal charter of Henry the Seventh, which directed the choice of the twenty-four aldermen to be made by the twenty-four companies, including the whole body of freemen, and that the said election should be annually renewed. This charter did not confer any new privileges on the town, but simply confirmed those which had in former times been enjoyed.

The

The political history of this city is of much importance, and displays in glowing characters the arbitrary system of the two last reigns of the Stuart family. It is fully given in the History of the Boroughs, but extends beyond the limits to which the brevity of this work is confined.

This city, as well as the county, first obtained the right of sending members to parliament, by statute 34 and 35 of Henry the Eighth, c. 15.

Corporation should consist of a mayor, chosen by the whole body of the freemen, twenty-four aldermen chosen *annually* by the twenty-four trading companies, and a common-council to be elected in the same manner as the aldermen, with a recorder, town-clerk, sheriff, to be chosen *annually* in the same manner with the mayor, two keepers of the guild, and other officers.

All the above offices existed before the charter of Henry, which granted no new offices or privileges, but simply confirmed the ancient customs of the place, and gave an inviolable sanction to the original right every citizen had to choose all the principal officers of the corporation.

The aldermen of London were also chosen *annually*, till their continuance in office for life was established by act of parliament. These ancient customs are a full proof of the freedom that existed in cities in ancient times, as explained in the introduction to this work, when every tything, or ten house-keepers, chose their tything-man; every hundred, their centurion, or constable; and every division of a city or county, their ealdorman, or alderman; one of which last was annually chosen by the freemen, to preside over his district for one year.

Right

Right of election, 2 December, 1690, in
the freemen of the city of Chester.

Number of voters, *one thousand.*

Patron, Earl Grosvenor.

CHICHESTER.

The Duke of Richmond influences the return of one member, and till the year 1784, he nominated both; but so insecure is the interest he now maintains in this city, that it would not require any formidable exertion of wealth or ability to overturn it altogether. It is supported at present by the corporation only, who are mostly his dependants; but he has neither the influence of property in the town, nor popularity amongst the people, to secure the obedience of the electors.

George White Thomas, Esq. a gentleman

M 2

of

of the neighbourhood, succeeded in direct opposition to the duke in 1784: and if he had not found it more convenient to come into parliament with the nominee of the Duke of Richmond without opposition or expence, he might have brought in a colleague with as great ease as he came into parliament himself.

The electors will not submit to a coalition between these two interests; they would consider such a junction to produce the same effect as suffering the Duke of Richmond to nominate the two members. Was such an agreement to take place, it would infallibly be the means of ousting both parties.

This city has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation. By charter of James the Second, it is governed by a mayor, recorder, and

and thirty-eight common-council-men: all who have served the office of mayor, are styled aldermen.

Right of election, in the inhabitant house-keepers paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, *six hundred and fifty*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Duke of Richmond, one member.

CHIPPINGHAM.

The right of election in this borough is yet, like many others, undecided. The corporation, which consists of a bailiff and eleven burgeses, claimed the exclusive right of voting for members in 1624, when the house resolved that the *burgesses and freemen*, more than twelve, have voices in the election.

This decision gave rise to another question

in 1741, Who are meant by burgesſes and freemen? when the following propoſition was put to the houſe. That the words, “ bur-geſſes and freemen,” mean only ſuch bur-geſſes and freemen, as are inhabitant houſe-holders of the ancient houſes, called free or burgage houſes within the ſaid borough.

This propoſition paſſed in the negative.

The right is therefore ſtill unconfirmed, though exerciſed by this deſcription of people who inhabit ſuch houſes, which are one hundred and twenty-five in number.

Theſe burgage houſes are moſtly the property of Sir Samuel Fludyer, Bart. and Henry Dawkins, Eſq. who nominate the members.

This borough ſent members 23 of Edward the Firſt, was diſcontinued 2 of Edward the
Second,

Second, and restored the 4 of Edward the Third.

Corporation, by charter of Queen Mary, consists of a bailiff, and eleven burgesſes.

Number of voters, *one hundred and twenty-five.*

Right of election *undetermined.*

Returning officer, the bailiff.

Proprietors, Sir Samuel Fludyer, Bart. and Henry Dawkins, Esq.

CHRISTCHURCH.

This insignificant borough was for many years under the absolute controul of Edward Hooper, Esq. of Herne Court in this neighbourhood, who in consequence obtained a

commissioner's place in the customs. From him, it came under the management of Lord Malmesbury, who appears to have been a most unfortunate negotiator with the electors; for he had scarce obtained the patronage, when the celebrated George Rose, Esq. of Treasury notoriety, stepped in and carried the borough in triumph. Mr. Rose has now purchased the right of the fishery, and other property in the borough, which has made him absolute proprietor.

Right of election, in the inhabitants householders paying scot and lot; but at present assumed and exercised by the corporation exclusive of the ancient electors.

Christchurch has sent members ever since the 13 Elizabeth, without intermission.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, aldermen, bailiffs, and a common-council.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Number of voters, *twenty-four*.

Proprietor, George Rose, Esq. secretary to the Treasury, clerk to the House of Lords, master of the Pleas, verdurer of the New Forest, &c. &c. &c.

CIRENCESTER

Has been many years influenced in the return of one of its members, by the family of Earl Bathurst, who has a seat in the neighbourhood, and possesses a considerable property in the town and its vicinity. His lordship is also lord of the manor of this borough; and his steward assumes the powers of returning officer, the charter having been forfeited so long since as the reign of Elizabeth.

A great

A great part of this town, like most others where the right of election is popular, has no share in the exercise of that right. The inhabitants of the Abbey, the Emery, and the Springate-lane, three districts of the town, are excluded from the right of voting, by a resolution of the House of Commons, passed December 8, 1709.

Mr. Creswell came into parliament on the independent interest in conjunction with Earl Bathurst's member in 1768, as did Mr. Preston, one of the present members, in 1790.

A very warm contest took place at this town on the last election; but Lord Bathurst's candidate was at the head of the poll; the numbers at the close being—

For M. H. Beach, Esq.	-	394
R. Preston, Esq.	-	347
J. Howell, Esq.	- -	231

The

The two last gentlemen stood on the independent interest, though not conjointly.

Cirencester was incorporated by Henry the Fourth, but never sent members till the 13 of Elizabeth. It is remarkable, that, while this town had a charter and a corporation, it sent no members to parliament; but since its charter has been cancelled, it has sent members without intermission.

A most important resolution, respecting the right of election in general throughout England, stands on the journals of the House of Commons, on the first petition from this town to ascertain that right. It is a full confirmation of the original universal right of house-holders to vote in elections, which has been proved to have existed in the preceding pages of this work.

May 21, 1624. Resolved, That where
there

there is no custom nor charter for election to the contrary, *there the inhabitant house-holders ought to make the election.*

November 4, 1690. The inhabitants of Cirencester receiving a charitable donation called *bye money*, have not a right to vote, &c.

Passed in the negative.

The inhabitants of Cirencester, being inmates, have not a right to vote, &c.

Passed in the affirmative.

December 8, 1709. The inhabitants of the Abbey, the Emery, and the Springate-lane, have no right to vote, &c.

Passed in the negative.

Right of election, in the inhabitant householders.

Return-

(173)

Returning officer, Earl Bathurst's steward.

Number of voters, *six hundred and thirty.*

Patron, Earl Bathurst, one of the tellers of the Exchequer.

CLITHEROE.

The burgage-holds in this borough which give the right of voting, in number forty-two, are the joint property of Lord Curzon and Thomas Lister, Esq. each of whom returns a member.

It has sent members since the 1 of Elizabeth.

Corporation, *none.*

Right of election, February 4, 1661, is in such freeholders only, as have estates for life, or in fee.

Return-

Returning officers, two bailiffs appointed at the court leet of the two proprietors.

Number of voters, nominally *forty-two*, actually but *two*.

Proprietors, Lord Curzon and Thomas Lister, Esq.

COCKERMOUTH.

Another burgage tenure borough, the whole of which is the property of the Earl of Lonsdale.

It first sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the next year, and restored the 16 of Charles the First.

Corperation, *none*.

Right of election, in Browne-Willis's time,
was

was in the house-holders at large, but has been many years assumed by the burgage holders.

Returning officer, a bailiff appointed at the court leet of Lord Lonsdale.

Number of voters, nominally one hundred and sixty-five, but actually only *one*.

Proprietor, Earl of Lonsdale.

COLCHESTER.

This borough is remarkable only for its expensive contests, which have ruined three candidates in thirteen years ; Mr. Fordyce, the celebrated banker ; Robert Mayne, Esq. the banker ; and Christopher Potter, whose names all appeared among the lists of bankrupts, soon after their contests for this borough were over.

Richard Shipley, Esq. was a candidate at the last general election: but as he chose to stand on legal and constitutional grounds, and not to expend his fortune in treating or corrupting the electors, he did not receive the suffrages of near a fourth part of this immaculate body; the numbers on the poll being—

For R. Thornton, Esq. - 645

Lord Muncafter - 486

R. Shipley, Esq. - 265

Colchester has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Right of election, 28 March, 1696, in the sworn burgesſes not receiving alms.

January 27, 1710. The mayor of Colchester cannot make foreigners free of the ſaid borough, without the conſent of the majority of the aldermen and common-council.

6 May

6 May, 1714—The right of election is in the mayor, aldermen, common-council, and free-burgeses, not receiving alms.

The right of making foreigners, not having a right of freedom by birth or servitude, freemen of the borough of Colchester, is in the mayor and free burgeses of the said borough, in common-hall assembled.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, deputy recorder, high steward, eleven aldermen, chamberlain, town-clerk, eighteen assistants, and eighteen common-council. The town is a liberty of itself, and contains four wards, and sixteen parishes.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Number of voters, *fourteen hundred.*

Patron, *none.*

N

CORFE

CORFE CASTLE.

A small village, containing only a few thatched houses, the joint property of Henry Bankes, Esq. and John Bond, Esq. the present members.

It has sent members since the 14 of Elizabeth, who gave it that privilege by charter.

Corporation consists of a mayor and eight burgeses, who are called barons.

Right of election, April 6, 1669, *appeared* to be in lessors for years, paying scot and lot, and also in such persons as had the freehold in reversion upon such leases for years.

March 2, 1770, *appeared* to be in such persons as have an estate of inheritance, or a lease
for

for years, determinable upon life or lives, paying scot and lot.

January 21, 1718, agreed to be in such persons as are seized in fee, in possession or reversion of any messuage, tenement, or corporeal hereditament in the borough, and in such persons as are tenants for life or lives, and for want of such freehold in tenants for years determinable upon life or lives, paying scot and lot, and in them and in no others.

Number of voters, *fourteen* resident, and about *thirty* non-resident.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietors, Henry Bankes, Esq. and John Bond, Esq.

CORNWALL.

What has been said of the other counties is applicable to this, only that the influence of this county is in different noblemen. The Prince of Wales as Lord Warden of the Stan-
nories, the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, Lord Falmouth, Lord Clinton, Lord Eliot, and Lord Camelford, possess the commanding interest.

COVENTRY.

This city still preserves its independence of any patron, which it demonstrated at the last election in the choice of William Wilberforce Bird, Esq. and Nathaniel Jefferys, Esq. Mr. John Petrie, the present member, and proprietor of the borough of Gatton, and Mr. Berners the banker, were sent here in the treasury interest a few days before the election ;

tion; but the tide was so strong in favour of the popular candidates, that they were prevented by the people, either from opening houses, or commencing a canvas.

This city first sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 28 of the same reign, and restored the 8 of Edward the Second. It then only sent members the 20 and 25 of Edward the Third, till the 31 of Henry the Sixth.

Corporation. It was made a mayor town by Edward the Third, and a county of itself by Henry the Sixth. By a charter of James the First, it is governed by a mayor, recorder, two sheriffs, ten aldermen, thirty-one superior, and twenty-five inferior, common-council-men.

Right of election, February 24, 1701—
The freemen of Coventry receiving alms or charity have no right to vote.

March 1, 1708, is in such persons who have served apprenticeships for seven years, within the city, to one and the same trade, not receiving alms or constant charities.

Persons receiving Sir Thomas White's gift, or Mr. Wheatley's gift, are not thereby disqualified from voting.

March 13, 1711, the members of the Fullers company have a right to vote, being freemen, and not receiving alms or weekly charity, and all such freemen as do not receive alms, and have served seven years' apprenticeship in the city or suburbs, who do not receive alms or weekly charity.

November 20, 1722, in such freemen as have served seven years' apprenticeship to one and the same trade, in the same city, or the suburbs thereof, and do not receive alms or weekly

(183)

weekly charity; such freemen being duly sworn and enrolled.

Returning officers, the sheriffs.

Number of voters, *two thousand four hundred.*

Patron, *none.*

CRICKLADE.

This borough was convicted of the most gross and general corruption before a committee of the house of commons in 1782, on the petition of Samuel Petrie, Esq. against the return of Paul Benfield, Esq. and Sir John Macpherson; on which occasion an act of parliament was passed to disqualify those electors who had accepted bribes, and to extend the right of voting for the future to the free-holders of the several hundreds of

N 4

High-

Highworth, Staple, Cricklade, Kingsbridge, and Malmesbury. This act has operated as an effectual check to corruption in this borough, as it has also done at Shoreham in Suffex, where a similar act has had the same effect, and is an incontrovertible proof that a parliamentary reform, upon the most liberal and extensive basis, would effectually eradicate that systematic corruption which has for so many years obtained the overwhelming influence of the boroughs, and now threatens the destruction of the whole political fabric. This is the infected spring that contaminates all the branches, and infuses its deadly poison into the heart of the constitution. The time, however, seems to be rapidly approaching that will unite all opinions upon the immediate necessity of restoring the representative system to its original purity.

This borough first sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 1 of

Edward the Second, and restored the 20 of the same reign.

Right of election—There are four resolutions of the house on the journals respecting the right of voting for the borough of Cricklade, but they are all repealed by the act before mentioned, which vests that right in the inhabitants of the borough who are free-holders, copy-holders, or lease-holders for any term not less than three years, or for any such term, or greater term, determinable on life or lives, and also in the free-holders of the respective hundreds of Highworth, Staple, Cricklade, Kingsbridge, and Malmesbury.

Returning officer, the bailiff.

Number of voters, *twelve hundred.*

Patron, Earl of Carnarvon, one member.

CUM-

(186)

CUMBERLAND.

The Earl of Lonsdale influences the return of one member for this county, and the Duke of Portland the other.

DARTMOUTH

Is a corporation borough, where the right of election is vested in a mayor, twelve aldermen, two bailiffs, twelve common-council, and an indefinite number of freemen. The greatest part of this corporation, like all other corporate bodies which possess exclusively the right of electing members of parliament, are handsomely provided for under the treasury, and the command and direction of them is given to Mr. Bastard, one of their present members.

This

This borough was first summoned to send members the 26 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 17 of Edward the Fourth, and restored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, two bailiffs, and twelve common-councilmen.

Right of election, November 21, 1689, in the freemen of the said borough.

That twenty-five new freemen made after the writ bore teste were not duly nor legally made.

Number of voters, *ninety-eight*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Edmund Bastard, Esq.

DEN-

DENBIGHSHIRE.

The commanding interest in this county is that of Sir W. W. Winne, the present member.

DENBIGH.

The influence of this borough, and of the boroughs of Holt and Ruthyn, which are united with it in the privilege of choosing a member, was possessed by the late Richard Middleton, Esq. of Chirk Castle; but that family having lately become extinct in the male line, and the estate being now divided between the three sisters of that gentleman, these boroughs may at present be said to be without a patron.

They first sent members by act of parliament the 27 of Henry the Eighth.

Cor-

Corporation consists of a mayor, two aldermen, recorder, two bailiffs, twenty-three burgeses, and a town-clerk.

Right of election, February 7, 1743, is in the burgeses, inhabitants of the boroughs of Denbigh, Ruthyn, and Holt.

Number of voters, about *five hundred*.

Returning officers, the bailiffs.

Patron, *none*.

DERBYSHIRE.

The Duke of Devonshire influences the return of one member for this county, and the Tory party the other.

DERBY

DERBY TOWN.

The corporation of this borough are under the influence of the Duke of Devonshire. They possess the power, by charter, of making an unlimited number of honorary or non-resident burgessees. This power they exercise in such a manner as to give the entire controul of the borough to their patron. Most of the tenants and friends of the Duke of Devonshire are made honorary freemen of this corporation, while few of the resident inhabitants possess that privilege. His grace has therefore only to summon his tenantry to the borough on the day of election, and the return of any two gentlemen he may please to nominate is made certain.

P. Crompton, Esq. of this town, offered
himself

himself a candidate at the last election on the independent interest, and the strength of that interest may be fully ascertained from the numbers on the poll—

Lord G. A. H. Cavendish	-	239
Edward Coke, Esq.	-	238
P. Crompton, Esq.	-	6

This town first sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 17 of Edward the Fourth, and restored the 33 of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation.—Derby was a borough in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and had one hundred and fourteen tythings within itself. It was first incorporated by Charles the First, but surrendered its privileges in the arbitrary reign of Charles the Second, from whom it received its present charter. The corporation consists of a mayor, high steward, recorder, town clerk, nine aldermen, fourteen brethren, fourteen

fourteen common-council, and an indefinite number of freemen. The magistrates here as in all other boroughs chartered by Charles the Second, *are removable at the king's pleasure.*

Right of election is in the corporation and sworn burgeses, resident or non-resident, (by charter).

Number of voters, *six hundred and fifty-five.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Duke of Devonshire.

DEVIZES.

This is a large manufacturing town, but the right of election is confined to a corporation of thirty-five, who are under the direction of James Sutton, of New-Park, Esq.
brother-

brother-in-law to the present speaker of the house of commons.

It first sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 20 of Edward the Second, and restored the 4 of Edward the Third.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, ten magistrates, and twenty-four council-men, by charter of Charles the First.

Right of election, March 21, 1688, in the mayor, and select number of burgeses only.

Number of voters, *thirty-five*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, James Sutton, Esq.

DEVONSHIRE.

The extensiveness of this county, like Yorkshire, renders an opposition under the present system of election almost impossible. The expence of bringing its numerous body of free-holders to the county town, to give their votes, would cost each candidate fifty thousand pounds. Every shilling of such a ruinous sum might be saved, and the avenues to a free election laid open by restoring the ancient divisions of tythings and hundreds, and obliging every man to vote in his own hundred before the constable of each respective division. It is also a matter of national right, that the country should be divided into equal districts: at present there are from twelve to sixteen thousand voters in Yorkshire, Devonshire, and the city of Westminster, while there is but ONE in each of the boroughs of Gatton, Midhurst, and Old Sarum!!!

The

The two most opulent gentlemen in this county are always certain of being its representatives, whatever may be their political principles or their conduct; men of smaller fortunes not having it in their power to enter into a contest where wealth alone can insure success.

DORSETSHIRE.

The interest of Lord Rivers generally influences the return of one member for this county, and that of the Earls of Shaftesbury, Dorchester, Digby, and Ilchester, the other.

DORCHESTER.

Almost one half of the houses and ratable property which give the right of voting in this borough belong to the Earl of Shaftesbury, who conveys them by freehold leases to his friends and dependents, for the purpose of making votes at the election. One of these

trust-holders claimed, and actually exercised, the right of voting for a piece of land on which a little shop anciently stood, but which now makes part of the public road, as it is covered with pavement. Many other small pieces of land, which are entirely waste, and covered with rubbish and weeds, have the right of suffrage annexed to them, and are considered as the most valuable voting property, because they *admit of no* inhabitant to give his suffrage for his personal effects, who might be able to balance the vote of the noble Earl's feoffee in trust. By means of this property the Earl of Shaftesbury elects one member, who is his representative in the house of commons, because, as he is chosen by means of the Earl's property, and by his direction, he cannot be said to be the representative of the people of Dorchester, or of any part of the people of England.

The Earl of Dorchester and his steward, Mr.

Strick-

Strickland, possess about eighty houses, which gives his lordship the power, whenever he shall please to enforce it, by joining the Earl of Shaftesbury, of returning the other member.

The present viscount Milton, son of the Earl of Dorchester, was a candidate at the general election in 1790, and had about two thirds of the votes of the house-holders, in consequence of which he was returned by the mayor; but a committee of the house of commons was of opinion that a decided majority of the inhabitants did not entitle him to a seat for Dorchester, the parchment votes of the Earl of Shaftesbury out-numbering those of the *bona-fide* house-holders.

This borough first sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 17 of Edward the Fourth, and restored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

A part of this town, called the **Holy Trinity** and the tything of Collington, is not admitted to be part of the borough.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, two bailiffs, six aldermen, six capital burgeses, and twenty-four common-council-men, by charter of Charles the First.

Right of election—there are five contradictory resolutions on the journals, but the following is the final one.

Resolved, that, pursuant to the last determination of the house of commons, the right of electing burgeses to serve in parliament for the borough of Dorchester, in the county of Dorset, is in the inhabitants of the said borough paying to church and poor in respect of their personal estates, and in such persons as pay to church and poor in respect of their real estates within the said borough, though
not

not inhabitants or occupiers, and although their names do not appear upon the poor-rates. 14 April, 1791.—400.

Number of voters, *two hundred.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patrons, Earl of Shaftesbury, and Earl of Dorchester.

DOVER.

This is the capital of the Cinque Ports, so called from possessing peculiar exclusive privileges granted them by charter.

There were at first only five of these places, but they were afterwards extended to eight, which were imprivileged to send members, besides a number of dependant ones which are not allowed that right.

Government possesses an influence in this place that always returns one member, and sometimes both, which they obtain from the custom-house, packet-boats, military and naval appointments, &c.

One of the present members, Mr. Trevanion, was elected on the independent interest.

Dover has sent members from the 23 of Edward the First to the present time, without intermission.

Corporation. It is governed by a mayor, twelve jurats, and thirty-six common-councilmen.

Right of election, March 24, 1623, is in the freemen, and free burgesses, inhabitants of Dover. Every son of a freeman, and every person marrying a freeman's daughter,
is

is entitled to his freedom, as is every freeholder within the jurisdiction of the corporation, besides all those who are made free by redemption, gift, or purchase.

March 12, 1770, the non-inhabitant freemen, as well as the inhabitant freemen and free burgesses, have a voice in the election.

Number of voters, *twelve hundred.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, the Admiralty one member.

DOWNTON.

This is a burgage-hold borough. The right of voting is in twenty-one burgage-holds, eleven of which are the property of the Earl of Radnor, and the remaining ten belong to Robert Shaftoe, Esq. The contest
between

between these two proprietors has produced no less than seven petitions to the House of Commons within the last twenty-two years. The splitting of votes has always been the object of contention. Mr. Shaftoe has been five times successful, and the Earl of Radnor the other times. It appears now to be admitted that his Lordship has one burgagehold more than Mr. Shaftoe.

This borough first sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 38 of Edward the Third, and restored the 1 of Henry the Fifth.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, February 4, 1775, in persons having a freehold interest in burgage tenements, holden by a certain rent, fealty, and suit of court, of the Bishop of Winchester, who is lord of the borough, and paying

ing reliefs on descent, and fines on alienation.

Number of voters, nominally *twenty-one*, actually but *two*.

Returning officer, the deputy steward of the lessee of the manor.

Proprietor, Earl of Radnor.

DROITWICH.

This borough is the property of Lord Foley, who nominates both members.

It first sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 5 of Edward the Second, and restored by Philip and Mary.

Corporation. By charter of *Inspeximus* of James the First, it consists of two bailiffs, a recorder, and eleven burgesses.

Right

Right of election, November 11, 1696,
is in the burgesſes of the ſalt ſprings of
Droitwich.

Number of voters, *twelve*.

Returning officers, the two bailiffs.

Patron, Lord Foley.

DUNWICH.

This place was formerly the moſt con-
ſiderable in the county of Suffolk, it being a
city and the ſee of a biſhop, but is now re-
duced to a hamlet with a few cottages. It
however preſerves, in common with the reſt
of the *rotten* boroughs, the right of ſending
two members to parliament. It is the joint
property of Lord Huntingfield, and Barne
Barne, Eſq.

It has ſent members ever ſince the 23 of
Edward the Firſt.

Corpo-

Corporation. Two bailiffs and twelve capital burgesſes.

Right of election is not in the freemen of the ſaid borough, commonly called outfitters, as well as in the freemen inhabiting within the ſaid borough, but only in the freemen inhabiting within the ſaid borough, 8 December, 1691.—Is in the freemen of the ſaid borough, commonly called outfitters, as well as in the freemen inhabiting in the ſaid borough, 25 November, 1695.—Was reſolved to be only in the freemen inhabiting within the ſaid borough, not receiving alms, 5 February, 1708.—40.

Number of voters, *twelve*.

Returning officers, the two bailiffs.

Proprietors, Lord Huntingfield, and Barne Barne, Eſq.

DUR-

DURHAM COUNTY.

The joint interests of the Earl of Darlington and the Bishop of Durham return one of the members for this county: the other is independently elected.

DURHAM CITY.

The interest which preponderates in this city, is that of Sir Henry Vane Tempest and Mr. Lambton, the present members; it is, however, by no means a controuling influence.

It has only sent members since the 31 of Charles the Second.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen, and twelve common-council.

Number of voters, *twelve hundred.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patrons, Sir H. V. Tempest, and John Lambton, Esq.

EAST-LOOE.

This is an insignificant hamlet in Cornwall, forming, in conjunction with West-Looe, from which it is divided only by a stone bridge, an inconsiderable village. Under the names of East and West-Looe, it constitutes two boroughs, has two corporations, and returns *four members* to parliament. The two boroughs are the individual property of John Buller, Esq.

It first sent members the 14 of Edward the Third, was discontinued the next year, and restored the 13 of Elizabeth.

Corpora-

Corporation, a mayor, recorder, and eight burgesſes.

Right of election, in the mayor, burgesſes, and freemen.

Number of voters, about *fifty*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietor, John Buller, Eſq.

ST. EDMUND'S BURY.

Although this is the principal town in the county, its right of electing members is confined to a ſelf-appointed corporation of thirty-fix individuals. Like the cities of Bath, Salisbury, and Winchester, this town has but a nominal representation.

The Duke of Grafton and Sir Charles
Davers

Davers have possessed the influence of the corporation for many years; but the Earl of Bristol's interest has lately obtained the ascendancy over the former, and procured Lord Hervey to be chosen at the last general election by a majority of three votes; the numbers on the poll being—

For Sir Charles Davers	-	-	23
Lord Hervey	-	-	17
Lord C. Fitzroy	-	-	14

This borough has sent members since the 4 of James the First.

Corporation consists of one alderman, a recorder, twelve capital burgessees, and twenty-four common-council-men.

Right of election, in the corporation.

Number of voters, *thirty-seven*.

P

Return-

Returning officer, the alderman.

Patrons, Earl of Bristol, and Sir Charles Davers.

ESSEX.

This county is represented at present by a compromise of the Whig and Tory parties. Mr. Bullock is the nominee of the former, and Mr. Bramston of the latter party.

EVESHAM.

This borough has been for many years under the controul of the family of Rushout of Northwick: the present Sir John Rushout represented it in the last parliament, upon the old family interest, but the electors have lately extricated themselves from the trammels, and choose their own members, independent of a patron.

This borough first sent members the 23
8 of

of Edward the First, was discontinued the next year, and restored the 1 of James the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, seven aldermen, and twelve capital burgessees.

Right of election, September 22, 1669, is in the common burgessees.

Number of voters, about *six hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, *none*.

The numbers polled at the last general election were—

For C. Thelluson, Esq.	-	315
Tho. Thompson, Esq.	-	267
Sir. J. Rushout	-	248

EXETER.

This is one of the few cities that are independent of individual controul.

It has sent members from the earliest periods, without intermission.

Corporation—It is a county of itself, and governed by a mayor, recorder, twenty-four aldermen, a chamberlain, sheriff, town-clerk, and four stewards; they have also a sword-bearer, four serjeants at mace, and four staff-bearers.

Right of election—It has never been contested, but has always been exercised by the freemen at large.

Number of voters, *twelve hundred,*

Patron, *none.*

EYE.

This borough is the property of the Marquis Cornwallis.

It has sent members since the 30 of Elizabeth.

Corporation consists of two bailiffs, a recorder, ten principal, and twenty-four inferior burghesses.

Right of election, in the inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, about *one hundred.*

Proprietor, Marquis Cornwallis.

FLINT COUNTY.

The prevailing interest in this county is that of Sir Thomas Mostyn: his father represented it during his life, and upon his decease, which has taken place since the last general election, the present Sir Thomas Mostyn, who was supposed to be a minor, became a candidate. The Hon. Lloyd Kenyon, son of Lord Kenyon, opposed his election upon the ground of his ineligibility. Mr. Lloyd, brother-in-law to Sir Thomas Mostyn, was also proposed as a candidate at the poll, on the close of which the numbers were—

For Sir Thomas Mostyn	-	50
Mr. Lloyd	-	30
Hon. Lloyd Kenyon	-	10

Petitions have been presented to the house
by

by the two latter gentlemen, against the return of the former; but it appears that the superior numbers polled for Mr. Lloyd must be a bar to Mr. Kenyon's success, whatever may be the fate of Sir Thomas Mostyn.

FLINT BOROUGH.

This town and its contributory boroughs are by no means under the controul of a patron. Sir W. W. Winne has the principal interest, whose relation Mr. Williams of Penbedw is the present member.

It has sent members in common with all the Welch counties and boroughs since the 27 of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation, a mayor, and two bailiffs.

Right of election, in the inhabitants of the boroughs of Flint, Rhydlan, Overton, Caer-

wys, and Caergurley, paying scot and lot; and it was resolved that the inhabitants of Knolton and Overton Foreign have a right to vote in the election of a burghers for parliament for the said town of Flint, 21 May, 1728.—The inhabitants of the several boroughs of Flint, Rhydlan, Caerwys, Caergurley, and Overton (including Knolton and Overton Foreign), renting lands or tenements for which the landlords thereof only pay scot and lot, have a right to vote in the election of a burghers for the borough of Flint, 5 April, 1737.—The same have not a right, 19 March, 1741.—1.

Number of voters, about *one thousand*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Sir W. W. Winne.

FOWEY.

FOWEY.

The right of election for this borough was twice contested during the last parliament between the Prince of Wales's interest, as lord of the borough, and the proprietors ; but it was finally decided in favour of the present proprietors,

It first sent members the 14 of Edward the Third, was discontinued the same year, and restored the 13 of Elizabeth.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, in the prince's tenants, who are capable of being portreves, and such of the inhabitants only as pay scot and lot, 5 May, 1701.—That the persons entitled to elect the portreve of the borough of Fowey are those who are capable of holding that office,

fice, that is, such prince's tenants only as have been duly admitted on the court-rolls of the manor of the said borough, and have done their fealty; and such persons only are duly admitted, whose lands, being freehold, were anciently, and continue to be, held immediately of the Duke of Cornwall as parcel of his said manor of the said borough, and whose titles to those lands have been presented at a court-baron by a sworn homage or jury of the free-holders of the said manor, March 21, 1792.

Number of voters, *sixty-three*.

Returning officer, a portreve chosen by a jury of the prince's tenants.

Proprietors, Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, and Philip Rashleigh, Esq.

GAT-

GATTON.

This is a borough, twenty miles from London, on the road to Ryegate, with one house, and one elector, sending two members to parliament. It was the property of Sir George Colebroke, and by his assignees sold to the late Lord Newhaven, at whose decease it was purchased by Mr. Ladbroke, the banker, who again sold it for one hundred and ten thousand pounds to John Petrie, Esq. the present proprietor.

It first sent members the 29 of Henry the Sixth.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, December 15, 1696, in the free-holders, and inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Number

Number of voters, *ONE*.

Returning officer, the proprietor's constable.

Proprietor, John Petrie, Esq.

ST. GERMANS,

An insignificant village, containing about three score fishermen's huts, the property of Lord Eliot.

It has sent members since the 5 of Elizabeth.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, in the house-holders who have resided a year.

Number

Number of voters, about *fifty*.

Returning officer, a portreve, appointed at the court leet of the lord.

Proprietor, Lord Eliot.

GLAMORGANSHIRE.

This county evinced its independency in the election of its present member, Mr. Thomas Windham, against the united influence of all the noblemen in the county, in 1789.

GLOSTER COUNTY.

One member for this county is returned on the interest of the Duke of Beaufort, and the other on that of the Earl of Berkeley.

GLO-

GLOSTER CITY

Returns one member on the interest of the Duke of Norfolk.

It has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, high steward, recorder, twelve aldermen, two sheriffs, twenty-six common-council-men, and a town-clerk; it has also a sword bearer, and two sergeants at mace.

Right of election, in the freemen at large by custom.

Number of voters, *two thousand.*

Returning officers, the two sheriffs.

Patron, Duke of Norfolk, one member.

GRAM-

GRAMPOUND.

Lord Mount Edgcumbe was formerly the patron of this borough, but a dispute arising between his lordship's steward and the voters, respecting the paying of gratuities *before* or *after* an election, the latter not thinking it safe to give credit, went in a body and offered the command of the borough to Lord Eliot.

His lordship continued to possess the influence till the last general election, when Sir Christopher Hawkins exerted such powerful arguments as induced them once more to change their commander, and to adopt him as their future patron.

It first sent members the 6 of Edward the Sixth.

Cor-

Corporation, a mayor, recorder, eight aldermen, and a town-clerk.

Right of election, in the inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, *fifty-nine*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Sir Christopher Hawkins.

GRANTHAM.

The representation of this borough has been many years at the disposal of the Duke of Rutland, whose seat is at Belvoir Castle, and Lord Brownlow, who has also a seat at Belton, in this neighbourhood. At the last election, however, this interest was opposed for the first time in the memory of any person now living in the town, by Sir William

Manners, but with very little success against the rooted influence of aristocracy; the numbers at the close of the poll being—

For Simon Yorke, Esq.	-	487
G. Sutton, Esq.	-	466
Sir W. Manners	-	207

It has sent members since the 2 of Edward the Fourth, without intermission.

Corporation consists of an alderman, recorder, twelve common burgessees, a coroner, and an escheator. It has also twelve constables to attend on the court.

Right of election, January 11, 1730, in the freemen of the said borough not receiving alms or charity.

Number of voters, *seven hundred.*

Returning officer, the alderman.

Patrons, Duke of Rutland, and Lord Brownlow.

GREAT GRIMSBY

Is under the controul of Lord Yarborough, who nominates its members. An opposition was made by Colonel Loft, and Mr. Home Gordon, to his lordship's nominees, that was within one vote of being equal to the successful candidates at the last election.

Colonel Loft, among other frolics that are usually played at an English election, insisted most of the voters in his interest for soldiers: we have not heard that they have since been called upon to serve in that capacity; but it was certainly the best mode he could adopt to prevent the desertion of such worthy constituents.

The

The numbers at the close of the poll
were—

For A. Boucherett, Esq.	-	131
W. Mellish, Esq.	-	130
Col. Loft	-	129
H. Gordon, Esq.	-	128

Grimfby has sent members since the 23 of
Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder,
high steward, eleven aldermen, twelve com-
mon-council-men, two coroners, two bailiffs,
and a town-clerk.

Right of election in the freemen, admitted
at a full court by the mayor, aldermen, com-
mon-council-men, and burgessees; such freemen
being resident and paying scot and lot, in all
cases, except where no rate has taken place

subsequent to their admission, 11 April,
1793.

Number of voters, *two hundred and sixty.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Lord Yarborough.

EAST GRINSTEAD

Is a small town consisting of about one hundred and fifty houses, thirty six of which are burgage-holds, and possess the exclusive right of choosing the members. Of this number thirty-three belong to the Duke of Dorset, who is thereby proprietor of the borough.

It has sent members since the 1 of Edward the Second.

Corpo-

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, April 7, 1679. Being an ancient borough by prescription, *the inhabitants*, as well as the burgage-holders, have a right to vote.

February 9, 1695, is in the burgage-holders only.

Number of voters, nominally *thirty-six*, actually only *one*.

Returning officer, a bailiff chosen at the Duke of Dorset's court leet.

Proprietor, Duke of Dorset.

GUILDFORD.

This borough, which does not extend over half the town of Guildford, is un-

der the joint patronage of Lord Onflow and Lord Grantley. An opposition was made to the former interest at the late election, by a Mr. Botham; the numbers on the poll were—

For the Hon. C. Norton 131

Hon. T. Onflow 90

P. Botham, Esq. 85

Mr. Botham petitioned against this return, and complained that five good votes had been refused by the returning officer, which had been tendered for him, and that three bad ones had been admitted for Mr. Onflow: but as he did not procure security to the speaker for trying the petition, it was of course discharged.

Guildford has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, seven aldermen, and sixteen bailiffs.

Right

Right of election, April 24, 1699, is only in the freemen and freeholders, paying scot and lot, and resident in the town.

Number of voters, *one hundred and seventy-five.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patrons, Lord Onslow, and Lord Grantley.

HAMPSHIRE.

This county is always considered as being influenced by the treasury, from the number of custom-houses, dock-yard, and placemen, it contains.

HARWICH.

This is a corporation borough, where the right of choosing the members is exercised

Q 4

by

by thirty-two self-elected individuals, who are under the patronage of the celebrated John Robinson, Esq.

Harwich first sent members the 17 of Edward the Third, was discontinued the next year, and restored the 12 of James the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, eight aldermen, and twenty-four capital burgessees.

Right of election, April 6, 1714, in the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgessees or head-boroughs, residing within the said borough.

Number of voters, *thirty-two*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, John Robinson, Esq.

HASLE.

HASLEMERE.

The burgage-holds which give the right of voting in this borough are all the property of the Earl of Lonsdale.

Haslemere first sent members the 27 of Elizabeth.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, in the freeholders resident within the said borough, 20 May, 1661, 9 February, 1698.—By the word *freeholders* is meant only freeholders of messuages, lands, or tenements, lying within the borough and manor of Haslemere, whether the same pay rent to the lord of the said borough and manor or not, exclusive of any lands or tenements which are, or have been, parcel of the waste ground of the said borough and manor, or any messuages or buildings which are, or shall be, standing thereon, 25 April, 1755.

Petition

Petition of Mr. Oglethorpe rejected, for not being signed by himself, 3 and 4 March, 1713.—The like relating to Wigan.

Number of voters, nominally *sixty*, actually only *one*.

Returning officer, a bailiff annually chosen at Lord Lonsdale's court leet.

Proprietor, Earl of Lonsdale.

HASTINGS.

A cinqué port, where the right of electing members is in a corporation consisting at present of thirty-six members: but as most of these are placemen, it is difficult to say how few of even that number retain the right of voting.

Hastings is a treasury borough under the manage-

management of Edward Milward, Esq. whose son has got the place of comptroller-general of excise, with a salary of 1425/. per annum.

It has sent members ever since the 43 of Edward the Third.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, and twelve jurats.

Right of election, January 30, 1698, is in the mayor, jurats, and freemen, resident and not receiving alms, only.

Number of voters, *thirty-six*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Edward Milward, Esq. for the treasury.

HAVER-

HAVERFORD-WEST

Is not under immediate influence; but Lord Milford possesses the greatest individual interest.

It first sent members the 27 of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, sheriffs, two bailiffs, and twenty-four common-council-men.

Right of election, July 4, 1715, in the freeholders, burgessees, and inhabitants, paying scot and lot, and not receiving alms.

Number of voters, *five hundred.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Lord Milford.

HEL-

HELSTONE.

A corporation borough, acting under a charter of his present majesty. The old corporation which existed under a charter of Elizabeth, confirmed by Charles the First, contested the validity of the new charter in 1775, and obtained a decision of a committee of the House of Commons against it. In 1790 the same contest was renewed, when the committee gave it against the old charter. At this time there was only *one elector* left alive under the old charter; and he returned two representatives to the British parliament.

The new charter having now gained an establishment, the constituent body consist of thirty-six, who, in imitation of all other corporations, have chosen themselves a patron.

Hel-

Helstone first sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 17 of Edward the Fourth, and restored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, eleven aldermen, and twenty-four common-councilmen.

Right of election, in the corporation.

Number of voters, *thirty-six*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Duke of Leeds.

HEREFORDSHIRE.

The Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Oxford have the first interest in this county.

HERE-

HEREFORD CITY.

The interest of the Duke of Norfolk at present brings in both members for this city.

An opposition was attempted at the last general election to be made to Mr. Walwyn, by Mr. Keyser the banker, and again, on the death of Mr. Scudamore in October last, by Colonel Cotterel, who made an effort to oppose the election of Colonel Scudamore, but without the least chance of success.

This city has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, high steward, deputy-steward, recorder, twelve aldermen, thirty-one common-council-men, among whom are reckoned the mayor and five aldermen, and also a town-clerk.

Right of election, in the freemen.

Number of voters, *twelve hundred.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Duke of Norfolk.

HERTFORD.

The Marquis of Salisbury and Lord Grimstone have in vain attempted the establishment of a commanding interest in this county. It has the merit of being at least independent of the nobility.

Mr. Waddington, who has opposed the torrent of corruption and delusion in the city of London with so much firmness and honour, was a candidate for this county at the last general election, but was for that time unsuccessful; the numbers on the poll being—

For

For W. Plummer, Esq. - 1016

W. Baker, Esq. - 887

S. F. Waddington, Esq. 406

HERTFORD TOWN

Is not under the absolute controul of a patron; but the present members, Baron Dimf-dale and Mr. John Calvert, have established a connection in the town that is too formidable to afford any prospect of success to any one that might attempt to oppose them.

It first sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 6 of Edward the Third, and restored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common-council.

R

Right

Right of election is not in such persons only as are inhabitants (householders) of the said borough, not receiving alms, and in such freemen, who, at the time of their freedom granted to them, were inhabitants of the said borough, or of the parishes thereof, but in all the freemen and inhabitants being householders, not receiving alms, 27 January, 1701.—Is in the inhabitants not receiving alms, and in such freemen only as at the time of their being made free were inhabitants of the said borough, or the parishes thereof; the number of freemen living out of the borough not exceeding three persons, 5 December, 1705.

Number of voters, *five hundred and seventy.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

HEYDON.

HEYDON.

Lord Carrington, who is proprietor of the boroughs of Midhurst and Wendover, has also attempted to obtain the patronage of Heydon, but has not yet succeeded. The number of votes are few, and therefore it is not improbable but by the next election he may succeed. This borough is far from being more immaculate than any other, and it is not impossible but the electors may feel a much greater advantage in carrying their own votes to market, than in being sold by a patron.

It sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the next year, and restored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, nine aldermen, and two bailiffs.

Right of election is in the burgeses of the said borough, whose privileges are gained either by descent, by serving seven years to a freeman residing only in the borough, or by an honorary gift at the discretion of the chief officers for the time being.

Number of voters, *one hundred and fifty-nine.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, *the highest bidder.*

HEYTESBURY.

This is a small burgage-hold borough, the joint property of the Duke of Marlborough and Sir W. P. Ashe A'Court.

It has sent members since the 27 of Edward the Sixth.

Corpo-

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, in the burgage-holders.

Number of voters, nominally *fifty*, but actually only *two*.

Returning officer, the bailiff, chosen at the court leet of the two proprietors.

Proprietors, Duke of Marlborough, and Sir W. P. Ashe A'Court, Bart.

HIGHAM FERRERS

Is another proprietary borough, belonging to Earl Fitzwilliam, sending but one member.

It first sent by charter the 2 of Philip and Mary.

Corporation consists of a mayor, seven aldermen, and thirteen capital burgesses.

Right of election, January 28, 1702, is in the mayor, aldermen, burgesses, and freemen, being house-holders and not receiving alms.

Number of voters, *one hundred and forty-five.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Earl Fitzwilliam.

HINDON.

This borough has made a most conspicuous figure in the annals of corruption. Though perhaps not more guilty than all the rest, it has only had the misfortune, like Cricklade, Shoreham, Shaftesbury, and Stockbridge, to have acted with less caution, and has thereby been more exposed.

At the election in 1774, General Smith,

Thomas

Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq. Richard Beckford, and James Calthorpe, Esquires, were candidates. The two former were returned, and the two latter petitioned against them. It came out before the committee that both parties had been guilty of bribery. Several of the electors were committed to Newgate; and the two sitting members, having been tried on a prosecution ordered to be commenced against them by the House of Commons, were both found guilty, and sentenced to a fine, and to suffer six months' imprisonment in the King's Bench prison.

A bill was brought into the house to disfranchise the borough, and to extend the right of voting to several of the adjoining hundreds; but this bill was got rid of by the interested parties.

The bribery practised here was similar to what the reader will find in the account of

Shaftesbury, only with this difference, a magistrate of the borough acted Punch on the occasion at Shaftesbury, and a reverend divine acted that part of the farce here.

It has sent members since the 27 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation, a bailiff and burgeses.

Right of election, April 3, 1701, in the bailiffs, burgeses, and such inhabitants only as pay scot and lot.

May 13, 1701, is in the inhabitants of the said borough not receiving alms.

April 12, 1728, is in the inhabitants of houses within the said borough being housekeepers and parishioners, and not receiving alms.

Number

Number of voters, *two hundred and ten.*

Returning officer, the bailiff.

Patrons, Lord Calthorpe, and William Beckford, Esq.

HONITON.

This borough was partly under the influence of Sir George Yonge, when he possessed a feat and a large estate in the neighbourhood, but is at present without a patron.

Mr. George Shum, and Mr. George Chambers, the present members, were chosen at the general election without opposition, though they were candidates on separate interests. Mr. Shum, it is generally understood, might have brought in a colleague on the interest that brought him here; and Mr. Mackintosh, the celebrated writer, was
invited

invited to become their member ; but as he thought proper to decline it, Mr. Chambers was returned without a contest.

Lord Courtenay is lord of the manor, and appoints, by a directed jury, the portreve, who is returning officer.

Honiton sent members the 28 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 4 of Edward the Second, and restored the 16 of Charles the First.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, February 3, 1710, is in the inhabitants of the said borough, paying scot and lot only.

December 18, 1724, is in the inhabitants house-keepers within the said borough, called

ed Pot-wallers, not receiving alms of the parish.

Number of voters, *three hundred and fifty.*

Returning officer, the portreve.

Patron, *none.*

HORSHAM

Is one of the county towns of Suffex, where the summer assizes are held alternately with Lewes, but where the representation is only nominal. The right of appointing the members of parliament is in twenty-five burgage-holds, fifteen of which number are the property of Lady Viscountess Irwin, and the remaining ten belong to the Duke of Norfolk, who is also lord of the manor, and appoints at his court leet two bailiffs to be returning officers.

Horsham

Horsham has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, June 16, 1715, is in all such persons as have an estate of inheritance, or for life, in burgage-houses, or burgage-lands, lying within the said borough.

Number of voters, nominally *twenty-five*, actually but *one*.

Returning officers, two bailiffs.

Proprietor, Lady Viscountess Irwin.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

This county is entirely under the influence of the Duke of Manchester and the Earl of Sandwich.

HUN-

HUNTINGDON TOWN.

The Earl of Sandwich has the entire command of this borough. It is not a command of property, for he has but one house in the town; it is rather a controul of interest and connection, his lordship's country seat being in the neighbourhood, where the corporation are well entertained with venison and good wine; and he possesses some pasture ground round the town, which is parcelled out among the leading freemen, who support his lordship's interest.

Huntingdon has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation, a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen, and twelve burgessees.

Right of election, in the freemen.

Number of voters, about *two hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Earl of Sandwich.

HYTHE

Is one of the cinque ports, and completely at the devotion of the treasury, whose interests are managed by Mr. Robert Tournay, an attorney of this place. It is now impossible to ascertain when the cinque ports obtained their first privileges, or their name, but they have received charters of confirmation from most of the kings and queens of England till the time of Charles the Second, who sent Colonel Strode, then governor of Dover Castle, to seize upon the charters of this and all the other cinque ports: and they are supposed to have remained in the possession of government ever since.

They

They were all summoned to send members the 43 of Edward the Third, but it has been proved that most of them sent to parliament in former reigns, and in their charters they were held to enjoy all their liberties and privileges, *as time out of mind*.

The right of election in all of the cinque ports was originally in all the inhabitants who bore their scot and lot, which signified all those who did the duty of watch and ward in the respective towns, for the payment of church and poor's rates, which is now explained to mean "scot and lot." "Inhabitants of a town" was unknown when these terms obtained their use. The payment of poor's rates was enacted the 43 of Elizabeth, by statute, consequently the terms "scot and lot," which were in use in all former periods, could not mean a thing which was not in existence.

Sea-

Seaford is the only cinque port which now possesses the right of choosing its members by the inhabitant house-holders paying scot and lot, and that right was recovered by the author of this work, after the trial of five petitions, and a persevering contest of ten years.

Corporation consists of a mayor, twelve jurats, and twenty-four common-council-men.

Right of election, January 27, 1710, is in the mayor, jurats, common-council-men, and freemen.

Agreed to by the house.

Number of voters, *one hundred and twenty-six*, above half of whom are non-residents.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron,

Patron, Mr. Robert Tournay, for the treasury.

ILCHESTER.

This borough, which consists of one hundred and sixty-three houses, is the property of Mr. Troward, the attorney, of Effex-street. The right of voting is here in the inhabitant house-holders, *without paying scot and lot*.

Sir John Eamer, the alderman, and Mr. Martindale, were sent here at the last general election by the treasury, to oppose Sir Robert Clayton, and Mr. William Dickenson, jun. who were the nominees of Mr. Troward the proprietor, but they were only able to procure sixteen votes.

This place sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 12 of Edward

S

the

the Third, and restored the 12 of Edward the Fourth.

Corporation consists of a bailiff, and twelve burgeses.

Right of election, January 28, 1702, in the bailiff, twelve burgeses, and inhabitants not receiving alms.

Number of voters, *one hundred and sixty-three.*

Returning officer, the bailiff.

Proprietor, John Troward, Esq.

IPSWICH.

This town is under the management rather than the influence of Mr. Cricket, one of the present members, who, by the establishment of a bank,

a bank, and with the assistance of the patronage of government, brought in the two members at the last election.

Mr. William Middleton, of Crowfield Hall, in this county, a gentleman of very independent principles, who represented this place from 1784 to 1790, was a candidate at the last general election; when the numbers on the poll were—

For Sir A. S. Hammond,	402
C. A. Cricket, Esq.	382
W. Middleton, Esq.	311

Ipswich has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of two bailiffs, a recorder, ten portmen, and twenty-four common-council-men.

Right of election is in the bailiff, portmen, commonalty, and freemen, not receiving alms, 3 February, 1710. A resolution passed, that portmen are an essential constituent part of the great court for making freemen of the said borough, without some of which portmen being present, the said court cannot be held, 31 March, 1714.

Number of voters, *six hundred and ninety-three.*

Returning officers, the two bailiffs.

Patron, C. A. Cricket, Esq.

ST. IVES.

This borough is the property of William Praed, Esq. one of its present members.

It

It has sent members since the 4 and 5 of Philip and Mary.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twelve capital burgeses, twenty-four inferior burgeses, and a town-clerk.

Right of election, December 8, 1702, is in the inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, *one hundred and eighty*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietor, William Praed, Esq.

KENT.

This county has made great struggles to preserve its independence, but the two episcopal churches of Canterbury and Rochester, the dock-yards of Chatham, Sheerness, and

Deptford, the custom-houses, excise, and naval and military establishments, produce a weight of influence that has threatened to reduce it, like Hampshire, to the degrading insignificance of a borough.

Mr. Filmer Honeywood has twice stood forth the champion of its independence with a firmness that has endeared him to the county of Kent. In 1790, he was successful ; the numbers on the poll being—

For Sir E. Knatchbull	4285
F. Honeywood, Esq.	3101
Hon. C. Marsham	2724

At the last general election in 1796, the state of the poll was in favour of the government candidates. The numbers being—

For Sir E. Knatchbull	5202
Sir W. Geary	4418
F. Honeywood, Esq.	4280
A peti-	

A petition is now before the house in behalf of Mr. Honeywood, and the friends of liberty have the firmest reliance that he has a majority of legal votes, and will therefore be the fitting member.

KING'S LYNN

Is under the patronage of Lord Walpole, whose family have had the command of it ever since the time of the famous Sir Robert Walpole, who was member for this borough.

It has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation—It has had fifteen royal charters, and is now governed by a mayor, recorder, high steward, under steward, twelve aldermen, and eighteen common-council-men.

Right of election, in the freemen.

Number of voters, about *three hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Lord Walpole.

KINGSTON UPON HULL.

This town, from its opulence and number of electors, is independent of a patron.

It first sent members the 33 of Edward the First, was discontinued the next year, and was restored the 12 of Edward the Second.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, sheriff, and twelve aldermen.

A contest happened here at the last election, when it appeared that Sir Charles Turner, who
stood

flood on the opposition interest, might have succeeded with a second candidate. The numbers on the poll were—

For Sir Charles Turner	833
Samuel Thornton, Esq.	771
W. S. Stanhope, Esq.	714

Right of election, in the freemen.

Number of voters, *sixteen hundred.*

Returning officer, the sheriff.

KNARESBOROUGH.

The right of election in this town is vested in eighty-four burgage-holds, which are all the property of the Duke of Devonshire, who has consequently the power of nominating both the members.

On

On the day of election a few of the duke's tenants arrive in the borough, when a certain burgage house is conveyed to each of them; they are then informed who they are to vote for, and the election is made. The steward of the Duke of Devonshire is the returning officer: not a single elector resides in the borough.

Knareborough has sent members since the 1 of Mary.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, May 17, 1691, in the burgage-holders.

Number of voters, nominally *eighty-four*, actually but *one*.

Proprietor, Duke of Devonshire.

LAN-

LANCASTER COUNTY.

The interest of the Earl of Derby at present brings in one member for this county, and the Tory party the other.

LANCASTER.

This town is at present represented by a compromise. The Earl of Lonsdale names one member, and the corporation the other.

It first sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 5 of Edward the Third, and restored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen, two bailiffs, twelve capital burgessees, twelve common burgessees, and a town-clerk.

Right

Right of election, in the freemen.

Number of voters, about *fifteen hundred*.

Returning officers, the mayor, and two bailiffs.

Patron, Earl of Lonsdale, one member.

LAUNCESTON

Is the county town of Cornwall, and the assizes are held alternately here and at Bodmyn, but the right of election is exercised by a corporation of twenty-three individuals. The Duke of Northumberland had the influence of this corporation till 1795, when a vacancy happening in its representation, by the death of Sir Henry Clinton, his grace recommended the Hon. John Rawdon to supply his place, but it was then discovered that Mr. Rose had attached a majority of these grate-

ful electors to the interest of the treasury, and Mr. Garthshore, private secretary to Mr. Dundas, was elected in opposition to Mr. Rawdon, by a majority of sixteen to five.

At the last general election, however, the old interest was recovered, and the Hon. John Rawdon, and James Brogden, Esq. who were proposed by the friends of the Duke of Northumberland, had twelve votes each, while the Earl of Dalkeith, and William Garthshore, Esq. who stood on the interest of the treasury, or, as they chose to call it, the interest of the Duke of Buccleugh, who has no estate nor connection in that part of the country, could procure only eleven.

Launceston has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, and eight aldermen.

Right

Right of election, March 17, 1723, is in the mayor, aldermen, and freemen, being inhabitants at the time they were made free, and not receiving pay of the parish.

March 24, 1734.—The aldermen to be elected out of the legal freemen.

Number of voters, *twenty-three*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Duke of Northumberland.

LEICESTERSHIRE

Is at present represented by the united interests of the Duke of Rutland and Lord Curzon.

LEI-

LEICESTER TOWN.

This being a large manufacturing town, and the right of voting extending to all the inhabitant house-holders, as well as to all the freemen, it is not to be influenced by a patron.

There have been contests at the general election in 1790, and at the last general election in 1796; the former was between Samuel Smith, Esq. brother to Lord Carrington, and Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, Esq. on the ministerial interest, and the present Lord Rancliffe, and Lewes Montoleau, Esq. on the interest of opposition. This ended in a compromise between the parties during the poll, in which it was agreed that Mr. Halhed, and Mr. Montoleau should decline, and that Mr. Smith, and Lord Rancliffe, then Mr. Parkins, should be returned.

Since

Since that period Mr. Parkins has joined administration, and has been made an Irish peer, his interest was therefore united to that of Mr. Smith, at the last election, who he had opposed at the former one, and Bertie Greathead, Esq. and Walter Rudens, Esq. were proposed by the opposition party. At the close of the poll the numbers were—

For Samuel Smith, Esq.	1029
Lord Rancliffe	993
B. Greathead, Esq.	556
W. Rudens, Esq.	537

Leicester has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, steward, bailiff, twenty-four aldermen, forty-eight common-council-men, a town-clerk, and other officers.

Right

Right of election, agreed to be in the freemen, not receiving alms, and in the inhabitants paying scot and lot; but persons living in the borough by certificate, not having gained a settlement, by renting ten pound per annum, or serving in an annual office, are not entitled (by paying scot and lot) to vote, 8 February, 1705.

Number of voters, about *fifteen hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

LEOMINSTER.

This borough has been strongly contested between the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Malden. The candidates in both interests were within one vote of each other upon the poll. A petition, in which Mr. Biddulph, the candidate on the Duke of Norfolk's interest, appealed to a committee of the House

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of Commons, has been tried and decided in favour of the sitting members, who were both supported by Lord Malden.

The magistrates of this borough, who are in the interest of Lord Malden, have by law the controul of the poor-rates, which are the proof of the eligibility of the votes in scot and lot boroughs. It is well known to those conversant in elections that this power is very frequently abused to serve election purposes. A very striking instance occurred in the case of Seaford, in 1786. The overseers had only rated twenty-four of the inhabitants out of one hundred and six, who were eligible to pay taxes; and the magistrates, rather than suffer the influence of the borough to be extended to these men, and be thereby deprived of the advantages arising from election traffic, chose to maintain the poor themselves. This partiality is complained of in the borough of Leominster, and

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is only to be remedied by a new law. Admitting appeals from the borough to the county session, would be one way of correcting this abuse; but the most effectual method would be to inflict a penalty of one hundred pounds upon the overseer for every house-keeper he omitted to insert in the poor-rate, and to give the party aggrieved the power of suing for and recovering the same.

The numbers on the poll at the last election were—

For John Hunter, Esq.	-	462
G. A. Pollen, Esq.	-	291
R. Biddulph, Esq.	-	290

Leominster has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of two bailiffs, a recorder, high-steward, twelve capital burgessees, and a town clerk.

Right of election, April 16, 1725, in the bailiffs, capital burgesſes, and inhabitants paying ſcot and lot.

Number of voters, about *fix hundred*.

Returning officers, the bailiffs.

Patron, Lord Viſcount Malden.

LESKEARD

Is a corporation town, the right of electing members is in twenty-four corporators, and about eighty ſworn burgesſes.

It ſent members the 23 of Edward the Firſt, was diſcontinued the 17 of Edward the Fourth, and reſtored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation conſiſts of a mayor, recorder, eight capital burgesſes, and fifteen aſſiſtants.

Right

Right of election in the corporation and sworn free burgesſes.

Number of voters, about *one hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Lord Eliot.

LESTWITHIEL.

Another corporation borough, where the right of voting is only in *twenty-four* individuals.

It ſent members, and was diſcontinued and reſtored, at the ſame periods with Leſkeard.

Corporation conſiſts of a mayor, ſix capital burgeſſes, and ſeventeen aſſiſtant common-council-men.

Right of election, in the mayor, and six capital burgesſes, together with ſeventeen aſſiſtants annually choſen, and who had a right to vote at the preceding election of mayor.

The ſeven capital burgesſes chooſe the ſeventeen aſſiſtants.

Number of voters, *twenty-four*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.

LEWES.

The borough of Lewes does not extend over more than half of the town of the ſame name. The Cliff and Southover diviſions are excluded from the right of voting.

Lord Pelham poſſeſſes about eighty out of
three

three hundred houses which constitute the borough of Lewes; and by means of the influence this property gives him, the tenants being all obliged to vote as he directs them, he can always return one of the members.

The independent part of the electors have attempted to overturn this influence at all the late elections in 1784, 1790, and also at the last general election in 1796, when Mr. Green of this town was proposed in opposition to Mr. Pelham, but without success. Mr. Kempe, the other member for this town, is one of those independent representatives who stand pledged to their constituents never to accept place, pension, gratuity, nor reward of any kind from any administration while he shall continue a representative of the people in parliament.

Lewes has sent members ever since the '23 of Edward the First.

Corporation, *never any.*

Right of election, May 8, 1735, in the inhabitants, being house-holders, paying scot and lot.

Returning officers, two constables appointed at the court leet of the three lords of the manor alternately. These lords are the Duke of Norfolk, Duke of Dorset, and the Earl of Abergavenny.

Number of voters, about *three hundred.*

Patron, Lord Pelham, *one member.*

LINCOLNSHIRE.

This county is exactly in the situation of Devonshire, the two most wealthy gentlemen of the county must always be its members, as no man of moderate fortune can sustain the
expence

expence of a contested election for so large a district under the present system of election.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote, one of the present members succeeded upon that ground at the last general election. Sir John Thorold, one of the late representatives, had been chosen in several parliaments, and had conducted himself with that integrity and independence which could never have given umbrage to his constituents; but upon the wealthiest man in the county becoming a candidate, it remained the only question with Sir John whether he would part with his seat or his fortune. He wisely preferred parting with the former.

LINCOLN CITY.

This city sent *four* representatives to parliament as a county, the 49 of Henry the Third, and was at that period one of the largest and most populous cities in the country.

try. It is now very much reduced from the state of its ancient consequence, so as only to rank among the middling towns. It however preserves its independence of a patron, having at the last general election chosen the Hon. George Rawdon, independent of personal influence or corporation controul.

Mr. Ellison, the other member, is a banker in this town, and had the support of the corporation and the neighbouring gentlemen in the ministerial interest.

It has sent members ever since the 49 of Henry the Third, without intermission.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen, two sheriffs, four chamberlains, a coroner, town-clerk, and forty-eight common-council-men. It is a county of itself, and has a jurisdiction twenty miles round.

Right

Right of election, in the freemen.

Number of voters, *twelve hundred.*

Returning officers, the mayor, and two sheriffs.

LIVERPOOL.

This town, as may be conceived from the extensiveness of its commerce, and its great population, is independent of the controul of a patron, but not entirely so of the corporation. They influence the choice of one of its members, and made an attempt in 1790 to return both. The spirit of the people however revolted at this, and they proposed General Tarleton in his absence and without his knowledge, and returned him to parliament, free of expence, by a majority of two to one.

At

At the last general election, Mr. John Tarleton, one of his brothers, and late member for Seaford, was opposed to him by the ministerial party, but not being able to procure more than three hundred votes out of three thousand, he was obliged to relinquish the contest, and General Tarleton was re-elected amidst the grateful applauses of his independent constituents.

Liverpool sent members the 23 of Edward the First, and the 35 of the same reign, and was then discontinued till the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, town-clerk, two bailiffs, and a common-council of forty-one, including these officers.

Right of election, March 5, 1729, in the
mayor,

mayor, bailiffs, and freemen, not receiving alms.

Number of voters, near *three thousand*.

Returning officers, the mayor, and two bailiffs.

LITCHFIELD.

The representation of this city is the joint property of the Marquis of Stafford, and Thomas Anson, Esq. of Shugborough, one of its members.

The right of election being in *freeholders* of forty shillings per annum, in the *burgage-holders*, and enrolled freemen, the Marquis of Stafford and Mr. Anson, who have purchased the burgage-holds, have contrived, by an admirable finesse, to make each of them give two votes, or, in the election phrase, to *carry double*. The manner in which this is effected

effected is as follows: the proprietors possessing the fee-simple of the burgage-holds, convey them to certain friends and dependents on the eve of an election, by which they create as many electors as they have burgage-holds to qualify. They then cause an *annuity of forty shillings per annum* to be granted upon each burgage-tenure, by which they create just as many more freeholders. These are sufficient to make a majority, and the election is secure.

Litchfield first sent members the 33 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 27 of Edward the Third, and restored by Edward the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a high and low bailiff, a recorder, sheriff, and twenty-four burgesses.

Right of election is in the bailiff, magistrates,

gistrates, freeholders of forty shillings a year, and all that hold by burgage-tenure; and such freemen as are enrolled and pay scot and lot; and also such freemen only of the Tailors' company as are enrolled in the new book of constitutions (and not the old book) have a right to vote, 10th May, 1701.—Resolved to be in the bailiffs, magistrates, freeholders of forty shillings per annum, and all that hold by burgage-tenure; and in such freemen only as are enrolled, paying scot and lot there, 10 Dec. 1718.

Number of voters, *six hundred nominally.*

Returning officers, the sheriff, and the high and low bailiffs.

Proprietors, Marquis of Stafford, and Thomas Anson, Esq.

LONDON.

This city, with Lincoln and York, sent
four

four members to the parliament of the 49 of Henry the Third, in common with the respective counties of England. This privilege was discontinued to all the rest the 23 of Edward the First, but London continues it to the present day.

There is little necessary to be said in a work of this kind of a place so well known, and which, from its commercial greatness and population, deservedly ranks before all others in the country, except its political character, and the influence it may thereby have on the towns more remote from the centre of government.

The change that has taken place in the public character of the citizens of London since the commencement of Mr. Pitt's administration is perhaps the most remarkable, and at the same time the most humiliating, proof we have of a degradation of public sentiment. Antecedent to that period we have beheld

beheld the citizens of London demanding from their candidates, before they would invest them with legislative authority, a test of their patriotism and their principles. It was necessary for them not only to have walked in the line of private integrity and public independence, to have gained the confidence of the livery of London, but a solemn declaration was required that they would not accept of either place, pension, title, or gratuity, from any minister. The city had then such men as Barnard, Janssen, Beckford, Sawbridge, and Bull, to represent them, whose names will be an honour to their choice to latest posterity. But what a degeneracy have we witnessed in 1792!—a candidate standing on the hustings, and claiming their confidence, because he boasted of having been the tool of every successive administration!—a pensioner preferred to a man of acknowledged independence, and a contractor head the poll

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at a general election ! Instead of representing the will of their constituents, have we not seen three of the city members leave the hustings, and vote the same afternoon in the house against the very instructions they had but just been honoured with ? and at the next election we have seen the same men re-invested with legislative powers by the very electors for whom they had so recently shewn their contempt !

A change so sudden, and in a body so numerous and well-informed as the citizens of London are supposed to be, to a state of political apathy, or rather political profligacy, must be acknowledged to be unexampled even in the degenerated state of falling Rome.

London has sent members without intermission since the 49 of Henry the Third.

Corporation consists of a lord mayor,
twenty-

twenty-six aldermen, in which number the mayor is included, two sheriffs, a recorder, common serjeant, chamberlain, town-clerk, two hundred and thirty-six common-councilmen, and various officers.

Right of election, by act of parliament 11 of George the Second, is in the livery of London only.

Number of voters, *ten thousand*.

Returning officers, the sheriffs.

LUDLOW.

This borough is partly under the patronage of Lord Clive, and will in all probability be wholly so on the death of Mr. Knight, one of the present members.

It has sent members since the 12 of Edward the Fourth.

Corporation consists of two bailiffs, a recorder, steward, chamberlain, twelve aldermen, twenty-five common-council-men, a town clerk, and other officers.

Right of election, February 26, 1661, is in all the resident common burgesſes.

December 22, 1690. The new charter granted to the town of Ludlow by the late King James, whereby the ancient method of electing burgesſes for parliament is altered, is illegal.

March 1, 1698. The ſons of the burgesſes of Ludlow, and thoſe that marry the daughters of burgesſes, have a right to be made burgesſes of the ſaid borough.

Every

Every person having a right to be made a burghers of Ludlow, ought to demand such his right by petition, according to the bye law made in the year 1663.

Number of voters, *five hundred.*

Returning officers, the two bailiffs.

Patron, Lord Clive, one member.

LUDGERSHALL

Is a small village in Wiltshire, the joint property of Lord Viscount Sydney, and Thomas Everett, Esq. the banker. It has been the subject of two contests and two petitions between the two present proprietors: but it is at last agreed that they shall each send a member.

It first sent members the 23 of Edward the

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First,

First, was discontinued the 4 of Edward the Second, and restored the 1 of Edward the Third.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, February 11, 1689, in such persons as have an estate of inheritance, or free-hold or lease-hold, determinable upon life, within the said borough.

January 17, 1705, in the free-holders or lease-holders of the said borough, determinable upon life or lives.

Number of voters, nominally *seventy*, actually only *two*.

Returning officer, a bailiff, appointed at Lord Sydney's court leet.

Proprietors, Lord Sydney, and Thomas Everett, Esq.

LYME-

LYME-REGIS

Is another of the many dependent corporation boroughs which is wholly under the controul of an individual; the Earl of Westmoreland and his ancestors having had the entire influence in the corporation for the last century.

The corporation are fourteen in number, only three of whom reside in the borough. One of these is collector, and a second comptroller of the customs: consequently there remains but *one* of the corporation resident in the town who is competent to vote for members of parliament.

The freemen are forty-two in number, eleven only of whom are inhabitants of Lyme; and of those eleven, one is surveyor of the customs, two are land-waiters, and two

others are serjeants at mace: the remaining thirty-one are dispersed from the Tweed to the Land's-end; so that if a contest was possible, the candidates must canvas the voters in every part of England.

Every other year there is a non-resident mayor; and in that case, one of the three resident members of the corporation acts as deputy.

It sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 17 of Edward the Fourth, and restored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, and fourteen capital burgesses.

Right of election. This right is open to future investigation. In the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, the returns to parliament were

made by the mayor and burgesſes, with *all the inhabitants and commonalty*. After this period the inhabitants at large were deprived of their right, and the elections were made by the freemen and *freeholders* only; but these two descriptions of voters were required to be resident. In the reign of Charles the First, the *freeholders* also were excluded, and the members were chosen by the corporation and freemen only. During the protectorate of Cromwell, the inhabitants at large were again restored to their ancient right, but have never been admitted since. In the reigns of Charles the Second, and James the Second; a contest arose between the freemen and freeholders; but the former being the fewest in number, were more subject to controul than the freeholders, and had therefore the favour of the court, which determined all election disputes as suited their own interest; but on the accession of William and Mary, the freeholders were again admitted
in

in conjunction with the freemen, and continued to give their suffrages during the whole reign of Queen Anne, and part of that of George the First, when the freeholders were excluded, as the inhabitants at large had been before.

The only two *entries* on the Journals are as follow:

May 11, 1689. *Insisted* to be in the mayor, burgeses, and freeholders.

February 28, 1727. *Alleged* to be in the mayor, capital burgeses, and freemen, *only*.

Neither of these seems to have the effect of a resolution : and if it had, the statute of the 28 of George the Third, chap. 52, allows it to be revised and cancelled, as being contrary to the constitution, and ancient custom of the borough.

Num-

Number of voters, *thirty-one*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, the Earl of Westmoreland.

LYMINGTON.

This is a corporation borough subject to the controul of Sir Harry Burrard Neale, Bart.

It has sent members since the 27 of Elizabeth.

Corporation. This is a singular instance of a corporation without a charter. It has a corporation by prescription, or ancient usage, consisting of a titular mayor, aldermen, and burgeses without limitation. These bur-
geses,

gessees, resident or non-resident, choose the mayor, who is sworn in at the court leet of Sir H. B. Neale. Here the lord of the manor appoints the electors, and the electors in return appoint the lord of the manor their representative.

Right of election. There are no less than five resolutions that the right of election is not in the inhabitants paying scot and lot, but in the mayor and burgesses only: the last is January 11, 1710.

Number of voters, *sixty*.

Returning officer, the titular mayor.

Patron, Sir Harry Burrard Neale.

MAID-

MAIDSTONE.

This borough, like Shoreham, Cricklade, Shaftesbury, Hindon, Stockbridge, &c. has made a conspicuous figure on the journals of the house of commons for bribery; but as this vice is by no means peculiar to any particular borough, we do not mean to dwell on it in this place.

Mr. Mathew Bloxham, and general Delancy, are the present members, against the return of whom a petition is now depending. The complaint of the petition is, that they had neither of them qualifications, and that they were consequently ineligible to be chosen.

The number of votes on the poll at the last general election were—

For

For General Delancy	415
Matthew Bloxham, Esq.	328
Christopher Hull, Esq.	281

Lord Romney is lord of the manor of Maidstone, but exerts no influence over its political rights.

It first sent members the 1 of Edward the Sixth, was discontinued by Mary, and restored by Elizabeth.

Corporation. It is governed by a mayor, recorder, aldermen, town-clerk, and common-council, by virtue of a new charter, granted by George the Second.

Right of election, February 7, 1701, and December 8, 1702, is in the freemen not receiving alms.

Number of voters, about *six hundred*.

Return-

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, *none*.

MALDEN.

This borough is under the influence of Mr. Strutt, and Mr. Western, the two present members.

It has sent members to parliament since the 2 of Edward the Third, without intermission.

Corporation consists of two bailiffs, a recorder, high steward, eight aldermen, and eighteen capital burgessees.

Right of election, is in such freemen as do not receive alms, and are entitled to freedom by birth, marriage, or servitude; and that persons deriving their right of freedom from
honorary

honorary freemen, and persons claiming their freedom by purchase, and exercising trades within the borough, have no right to vote.
20 May, 1715.

Number of voters, *two hundred*.

Returning officers, the two bailiffs.

Patrons, Joseph Holden Strutt, Esq. and Charles Callis Western, Esq.

MALMESBURY

Is a corporation borough where the right of election is vested in thirteen individuals; and these thirteen are again under the influence of Mr. Joseph Wilkins of this borough, receiver-general of the land-tax for the county of Wilts.

Mr. Vassar tendered the votes of the free-
men

men at the last election in behalf of himself against P. J. Thelluson, Esq. and Samuel Smith, Esq. the nominees of the patron, but the alderman, who is the chief magistrate, and returning officer, rejected them all, and returned Mr. Thelluson and Mr. Smith on the suffrages of the thirteen. Mr. Vassar afterwards petitioned against the return, on the claim of the freemen at large, but the committee determined that Mr. Thelluson and Mr. Smith were duly elected, and that the right of election was in the alderman, and twelve capital burgesses only.

This place has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of an alderman, and twelve capital burgesses.

Right of election, in the alderman, and

X

twelve

twelve capital burgesſes, December 13, 1702.

Confirmed in 1796.

Number of voters, *thirteen*.

Returning officer, the alderman.

Patron, Joſeph Wilkins, Eſq.

MALTON.

This town has no charter or corporation. The returning officer is a titular bailiff appointed at the court leet of Earl Fitzwilliam, lord of the manor. There is no reſolution reſpecting the right of election, but it is exerciſed by the burgage-holders, in number about a hundred; theſe are moſtly the property of Earl Fitzwilliam, who has the ſole diſpoſal of its political favours.

It firſt ſent members the 23 of Edward the
Firſt,

First, was discontinued the 27 of the same reign, and restored by Charles the Second.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, in the burgage-tenures.

Number of voters, nominally about *one hundred*, actually only *one*.

Returning officer, the lord's bailiff.

Proprietor, Earl Fitzwilliam.

MARLBOROUGH

Is a large manufacturing town, where the right of electing members is confined to twenty individuals; and this corporation of twenty are under the influence of the Earl of Ailesbury.

It has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, two bailiffs, and twenty capital burgeses, in which number the mayor and bailiffs are included.

Right of election, May 13, 1717, in the mayor and burgeses of the said borough only.

Number of voters, *twenty*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Earl of Ailesbury.

MARLOW.

This borough is now become the property of Sir Thomas Williams, Baronet, by a purchase of the major part of the houses. An
oppo-

opposition was made at the last general election to the proprietor and his son, the present members, by John Fiott, Esq. on the interest of William Lee Antonie, Esq. one of the late members, who has also several houses in the borough, and a considerable estate in the neighbourhood. The numbers on the poll were—

For Sir T. Williams	158
Owen Williams, Esq.	154
John Fiott, Esq.	71

Marlow first sent members the 28 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 2 of Edward the Second, and restored the 21 of James the First.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, December 21, 1680,

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and

and again, November 21, 1690, in those inhabitants only who pay scot and lot.

Number of voters, *two hundred and twenty-five.*

Returning officers, two constables.

Proprietor, Sir Thomas Williams.

ST. MAWES

Is a hamlet with a few thatched cottages, the property of the Marquis of Buckingham.

It has sent members to parliament since the Elizabeth.

Corporation, *none.*

Right of election, in a portreve appointed

at

at the court leet of the lord, and the resident burgesſes.

Number of voters were *twenty-two*, but *sixteen* of theſe having obtained revenue offices, are diſqualified, and the number is therefore reduced to *ſix*.

Returning officer, the portreve.

Proprietor, Marquis of Buckingham.

ST. MICHAEL, *alias* MITCHELL.

The right of election in this borough is in part different from all others. It has been variously determined by the houſe, and has been exerciſed by different deſcriptions of people; at preſent it is in a high lord, and five deputy lords, a portreve appointed by the high lord at his court leet, from among

the five deputy lords, and the inhabitant house-holders paying scot and lot.

The right of election was at first in the burghers, a term at present unknown in the borough. To which it is added in the journals, "the inhabitants condescended;" a proof, among innumerable others, that the right was originally in this borough, as in all others (before charters granting exclusive privileges came into use), in *the inhabitants at large*.

In the second case, which occurred in 1660, the members were chosen by two elizors, appointed by the lord of the manor, and by twenty-two of the freemen, chosen by these two elizors.

The house at that period determined in favour of this right, which gave the appointment

ment of the two members to the lord of the manor.

The right of election was contested a third time in 1689, by the house-holders paying scot and lot, and the inhabitants at large, upon the claim of original right. It was then determined to be in the *inhabitants at large not receiving alms*.

In 1700 it was a fourth time tried, and it was then determined by the house to be in the portreve, the high lord, and deputy lords, and in the inhabitants of the said borough *paying scot and lot*.

Thus the right of election, which was originally in the inhabitants house-keepers in every place, has been limited from time to time. Paying scot and lot could not be a term of limitation till the 43 of Elizabeth, as it had not its existence, in the acceptation in
 1 which

which it is now used, of paying to church and poor, till that period; and the term "burgage-holder" is only a corruption of the ancient "borse-holder." House-holder, in the Saxon language, as the term Freemen in most of the cities and large towns, is evidently the *liber homo* of the feudal times, which distinguished the freeman from the villain.

St. Michael is now reduced to an insignificant village, consisting only of forty two houses, which pay scot and lot, and these are mostly the property of Sir Christopher Hawkins, Baronet.

It has sent members to parliament since the 6 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation, *none.*

Right of election, March 20, 1700, in the portreve, and lords of the manor capable of being

being portreves, and the inhabitants of the said borough paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, *forty-two*.

Returning officer, the portreve, appointed at the court leet of the high lord.

The six lords are, Lord De Dunstanville, Sir Carew Vivyan, Bart. Sir Thomas Carew, Bart. Hugh Boscawen, Esq. William Courtenay, Esq. and Mr. Gulley.

Patron, Sir Christopher Hawkins.

MERIONETHSHIRE.

This county is not under individual influence.

MIDHURST

Is one of the boroughs that send two mem-

bers to parliament without having a single house, or inhabitant. The borough consists of one hundred and ninety-seven acres of land, and was the property of Lord Montagu, who sold it to the present Earl of Egremont for forty-two thousand pounds, who again sold it in 1794 to the present Lord Carrington, proprietor of the borough of Wendover, for a less sum.

The constituent body here consists of one hundred and eighteen stones, denoting where the same number of burgage-tenures are to be found. These are represented at an election by three or four of the proprietor's friends, each holding a piece of parchment in his hand, called a conveyance, which invests them with a right, *pro tempore*, of acting as proxies for the dumb body of constituents.

It has sent members since the 4 of Edward the Second.

Corpo-

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, in the burgage-tenures.

Number of voters, *ONE*.

Returning officer, the steward or bailiff of the proprietor.

Proprietor, Lord Carrington.

MIDDLESEX.

This county has the first claim to independence of any in this country, which was evinced in the memorable contest with government for the freedom of its right of election from 1768 to 1782.

MILBORNE PORT.

A singular right of election is established
in

in this borough, partly burgage-hold, and partly scot and lot. Nine parcels of borough lands, the property of the Earl of Uxbridge, and William Coles Medlycott, Esq. give a right of voting to any nine persons to whom the proprietors choose to convey them for that purpose, beside whom there are ninety householders, paying scot and lot, who possess the same privilege, and a majority of these houses having been purchased by the proprietors of the nine burgage-tenures, they have it in their power to nominate both the members.

Two of these nine burgage tenures preside yearly by rotation as returning officers, the persons to whom they are conveyed being called the nine bailiffs, so constituted by the conveyance of the tenures.

The two bailiffs, whose turn it happens to be to preside, may, if they please, appoint two substitutes at the court leet, held annually
in

in the month of October, who are called sub-bailiffs.

The sub-bailiffs are generally two of the servants of the proprietors, and not unfrequently have the honour of returning their masters to parliament.

There have been many contests and petitions from this borough. In 1685,—1747,—1772,—1775,—and lastly in 1796. The last petition arose from an opposition made to Lord Paget, son to one of the proprietors, and Sir Robert Ainsley, uncle to the other, by General Macleod, and Lucius Concannon, Esq. at the last general election.

The numbers on the poll were—

For Lord Paget	58
Sir R. Ainsley	55
General Macleod	46
L. Concannon, Esq.	37

It

It was stated that fourteen good votes had been refused for general Macleod by the sub-bailiffs, and that many bad ones had been admitted for Sir Robert Ainsley.

The committee determined that Lord Paget and Sir Robert Ainsley were duly elected.

This borough first sent members the 26 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 35 of the same reign, and restored the 15 of Charles the First.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, December 8, 1702, is in the capital bailiffs and their deputies, in the commonalty stewards, and the inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, *ninety-nine*.

Return-

Returning officers, the two sub-bailiffs.

Proprietors, Earl of Uxbridge, and William
Coles Medlycott, Esq.

MINEHEAD

Is a proprietary borough, belonging to John Fownes Luttrell, Esq. of Dunster Castle, one of the present members, but owing to some neglect of the proprietor, in his attention to the voters, he lost one member at the last election in his own borough, and was in danger of even being thrown out himself. His opponents were John Langston, Esq. the banker, and Admiral Pole, against himself and his brother. At the final close of the poll the numbers were—

For J. F. Luttrell, Esq.	97
John Langston, Esq.	94
Col. Tho. Luttrell	85
Admiral Pole	82

Y

It

It has sent members since the 1 of Elizabeth.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, February 24, 1717, is in the parishioners of Minehead and Dunster, *being house-keepers in the borough of Minehead, and not receiving alms.*

Number of voters, *one hundred and eighty.*

Returning officers, two constables.

Proprietor, John Fownes Luttrell, Esq.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

The influence of this county is between the Duke of Beaufort and Sir Charles Morgan, who each nominate a member.

MON-

MONMOUTH TOWN

Sends only one member, who is always nominated by the Duke of Beaufort.

It has sent members since the 27 of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, two bailiffs, and fifteen common-councilmen.

Right of election, November 26, 1680, doth not belong to the burgesses inhabitants of the borough of Monmouth only.

The burgesses inhabitants of the boroughs of Newport and Uske, in the county of Monmouth, have a right to vote in the election of

a burges to serve in parliament for the said borough of Monmouth.

Number of voters, about *eight hundred*.

Returning officers, the mayor, and two bailiffs.

Patron, Duke of Beaufort.

MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

The commanding interest in this county is that of the Earl of Powis.

MONTGOMERY TOWN.

The greatest part of this is the property of the Earl of Powis, who has the entire controul of the corporation and burgeses.

The

The boroughs of Llanidlos, Lanvilling, and Welchpool, formerly voted in the election of a burges to represent this borough in parliament, but lost that privilege by a resolution of the House of Commons in 1728.

It has sent members since the 27 of Henry the Eighth.

Right of election, April 16, 1728, is in the burgeses of the said shire town *only*.

Corporation consists of two bailiffs, and twelve burgeses.

Number of voters, *eighty*.

Returning officers, the bailiffs.

Proprietor, Earl of Powis.

MORPETH.

This borough is mostly the property of the

Earl of Carlisle, who has the absolute controul of the electors.

It has sent members since the 1 of Mary.

Corporation consists of two bailiffs and seven aldermen.

Right of election is only in the bailiffs, and free burgeses of the said borough, March 9, 1694.

Number of voters, about *two hundred*.

Returning officers, the two bailiffs.

Patron, Earl of Carlisle.

NEWARK

Is the largest town but one in the county of Nottingham, and the right of election is

is in the inhabitants house-holders, paying scot and lot, the number of whom is not less than seven hundred, but it has still the mortification to be under the absolute controul of an individual.

The grand-father of the present Duke of Newcastle laid out no less a sum than sixty thousand pounds in the purchase of houses and other property in this town and its neighbourhood, which gives him an influence in the elections that the whole weight of the independent part of the people cannot resist with success.

William Paxton, Esq. has twice been a candidate for this borough in opposition to the Newcastle interest, first in 1790, and again at the last general election in 1796, but without success, the nominees of the Duke of Newcastle having been each time returned by a considerable majority.

This is the last borough in England that received the privilege to send members to parliament by charter, granted the 24th of April, in the 29th year of Charles the Second.

Wenlock in Shropshire was the first borough that ever obtained the same privilege by a similar instrument the 29 of November, 1478, in the reign of Edward the Fourth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, twelve aldermen, and twelve assistants.

Right of election, January 11, 1700, the mayor, aldermen, and *all the inhabitants* within the borough of Newark upon Trent, who pay, *or ought to pay*, scot and lot within the said borough, have a right to vote at the election of members to serve in parliament for the said borough.

March 22, 1791, the right of voting for

members to serve in parliament for the borough of Newark, is in the mayor, aldermen, and all the inhabitants *paying scot and lot*.

Number of voters, *seven hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietor, Duke of Newcastle.

NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LINE.

A great part of this borough is the property of the Marquis of Stafford, whose influence directs the choice of the electors. It appeared in evidence before a committee of the House of Commons in 1792, that it is very customary for the burgesses to live ten, fifteen, twenty, and even thirty years in their houses *without paying any rent*.

Clement Kynnersley, Esq. of Loxley, in this county, and Thomas Fletcher, Esq. of this

this borough, opposed the nominees of the Marquis of Stafford, in 1790, but without success.

It has sent members ever since the 27 of Edward the Third.

Corporation consists of a mayor, two bailiffs, and twenty-four common-councilmen.

Right of election, April 9, 1624, in the mayor, bailiffs, and common-councilmen.

February 27, 1705, in the mayor, burgesses, and freemen, resident within the borough.

March 21, 1792, in the freemen residing in the borough of Newcastle-under-Line.

Number of voters, *six hundred and sixty.*

Return-

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Marquis of Stafford.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

This town is, like Liverpool, too populous to submit to the dictates of a patron, but it is at present represented by a compromise of the parties, which in fact leaves the town without the advantage of representation,

The modern practice of large towns, like Westminster, Liverpool, Newcastle, &c. sending one man to parliament to vote with the minister, and another to vote against him, approaches so near to political idiotism, that we do not know by what other name to distinguish it.

It has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corpo-

Corporation. It is a county of itself, and is governed by a mayor, recorder, sheriff, and a court of aldermen.

Right of election. By custom in the free-men at large, resident and non-resident.

Number of voters, *two thousand five hundred.*

Returning officer, the sheriff.

NEWPORT, CORNWALL.

This borough ought to be considered as part of Launceston, to which it is a kind of small suburb, but by giving it two names, it serves, like East and West Looe, Weymouth and Melcomb-Régis, Aldborough and Boroughbridge, and Steyning and Bramber, to make two boroughs, and to send a double number of members to parliament.

It

It is the property of the Duke of Northumberland, to whose honour it ought to be mentioned, that instead of making a marketable commodity of the representation, he has selected for this borough, in the person of Mr. Richardson, a gentleman whose literary talents, political principles, and private virtues, eminently qualify him for the most distinguished situation.

Newport has sent members since the 6 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, in the inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, *sixty-two*.

Returning officers, two vianders appointed at the court leet of the lord of the manor.

Pro-

Proprietor, Duke of Northumberland.

NEWPORT, ISLE OF WIGHT.

This is a large country town, and the capital of the island, but where the right of election is only nominal, it being exercised only by a corporation of twenty-four individuals, and several of that number not resident in the borough.

The Reverend Mr. Holmes, a clergyman and a magistrate in this island, has the absolute controul of this corporation.

Newport first sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the next year, and restored by charter the 23 of Elizabeth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, ten aldermen, and twelve burgessees.

Right

Right of election, in the corporation.

Number of voters, *twenty-four*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, the Reverend Leonard Troughear
Holmes.

NEWTON, ISLE OF WIGHT.

This borough is almost become extinct in every thing but the name, like Old Sarum, Midhurst, &c. there not having been for many years more than five or six fishermen's huts to preserve it from oblivion.

The right of election is not however in these few inhabitants, but in a still smaller number who never inhabited in the borough, and who never see it except at an election.

This right is here in thirty-six burgage-
holds,

holds, which are the property of the following individuals—

Sir Richard Worsley owns	-	10
Sir John Barrington	-	8
Master Blachford, nephew to Sir		
John Barrington	-	1
		<hr/>
		19

These constitute a majority, and of course can nominate the two members.

The remainder of these burgage-holds belong to the following persons—

Reverend Mr. Holmes	-	6
William Worsley, Esq.	-	3
Sir William Oglander	-	2
John Urry, Esq.	-	2
Cohairs of John Leigh, Esq.	-	1
Maurice Biffet, Esq.	-	1
William Hill, Esq.	-	1
William Harvey	-	1
		<hr/>

In all 36

The

The *three* first constituting a majority over the last *eight*, always choose the two members.

Newton has sent members since the 27 of Elizabeth.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, April 22, 1729, in the mayor and burgessees, having borough lands within the said borough.

Number of voters, nominally *thirty-six*, actually but *three*.

Returning officer, a titular mayor, appointed by the lord of the manor, always a non-resident:

Proprietors, Sir Richard Worsley, Sir John Barrington, &c.

NEWTON, LANCASHIRE.

This is another burgage-tenure borough belonging to Thomas Peter Leigh, Esq. one of the present members, who is possessed of about sixty burgage-holds, each of which being conveyed to a friend, constitutes him a burghers of this borough.

The returning officers are the steward and bailiff of the lord of the manor, so that Mr. Leigh having the appointment of returning officers and constituents, it would be hard if they did not, in return, appoint him a member of parliament.

Newton has sent members since the 1 of Elizabeth.

Corporation, none.

Right of election, in the free burgesses.

Return-

Returning officers, the steward and bailiff
of the lord of the manor.

Proprietor, Thomas Peter Leigh, Esq.

NORFOLK.

This county has at present one representa-
tive for the Whig, and one for the Tory in-
terest.

NORTHALLERTON.

This is a burgage-tenure borough, but the
right of voting is not distinguished by a hun-
dred and eighteen stones, as at Midhurst, or
by a foundation-wall, as at Old Sarum, but
by the appearance of a certain number of
chimnies. The greater part of the burgage-
tenures here front the street, and now exist
in the form of stables or cow-houses, in which
a chimney is preserved as the memorial of

the right; others are let out to poor persons at a small annual rent, on the condition of their keeping them in repair; and many are totally ruinous and uninhabited.

The vote is in some instances separated from the house, by the practice of granting a lease of the latter for the term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, subject to an annual pepper-corn rent; in either case the vote is considered as being worth one hundred pounds more in the purchase than the value of the property.

A majority of these burgage-tenures are the property of Lord Harewood and Henry Pierce, Esq. one of the present members, who consequently have the right of election in themselves.

Of the minority of these tenures, ten belong to Sir Charles Turner, five to Mr. Met-

calf

calf and family, four to Mr. Meek, and the same number to the Reverend Mr. Peacock.

Northallerton having sent to parliament the 26 of Edward the First, made no other return till called upon, as Malton was, to send members, by order of the House of Commons, anno 1640, in the reign of Charles the Second.

Corporation. It never had a charter nor a corporation, but it has a bailiff deputed and authorised by the Bishop of Durham by patent for life.

Right of election, in the burgage-tenures.

Number of voters, nominally about *two hundred*, actually only *two*.

Returning officer, the bailiff, appointed by the Bishop of Durham, who is lord of the manor.

Proprietors, Lord Harewood, and Henry
Pierce, Esq.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

This county is completely under the influence of about a dozen peers, among whom are the Earl Spencer, Earl of Northampton, &c. &c.

NORTHAMPTON TOWN.

Northampton is independent in the return of one of its members, the other is influenced by the corporation, who are under the controul of the Earl of Northampton.

This body attempted the return of both the members at the last general election, but exposed the weakness of their power so glaringly in the contest, as to satisfy the independent part of the town, that they may
shake

shake off the yoke altogether upon a future occasion.

The candidates, proposed by the corporation in the interest of the Earl of Northampton, were the Hon. Spencer Percival, his lordship's relation, and Mr. Walcot. The Hon. Edward Bouverie, a neighbouring gentleman, and one of their late members, were supported by the independent interest. The numbers at the close of the poll were—

For the Hon. S. Percival	-	740
Hon. E. Bouverie	-	512
Mr. Walcot	-	474

This town has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, two bailiffs, and forty-eight common-councilmen, out of which number the mayor is

annually chosen, who is, after he has served that office, reputed an alderman.

Number of voters, *one thousand*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Earl of Northampton, one member.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

The government have considerable influence in this county from possessing the estates of the Earl of Derwentwater, which were forfeited to the crown in 1715. Under the weight of that influence Colonel Beaumont, one of the present members, is said to have obtained his seat. It is however generally acknowledged that the interests of the Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Tankerville, and Sir Henry Grey, united with the deserved popularity of Mr. Charles

Charles Grey, and the zeal of the independent gentlemen of the county, are at any time sufficiently powerful to overturn the whole influence of the treasury in the choice of their members.

NORWICH.

This city has made great efforts to regain its former independence, but the personal interest of one its present members, and the public influence of the other, has hitherto been too powerful for the exertions of the independent party. It is however very generally admitted, that had Mr. Bartlett Gurney, the gentleman who was opposed to Mr. Windham at the last election, been personally present at the time, and canvassed in the accustomed manner for votes, he would have been elected by a considerable majority. This gentleman was absent from Norwich, and unacquainted with the intentions of the friends

friends of liberty in that place to propose him as a candidate. The numbers on the poll will evidently demonstrate the sense of the city of Norwich, when it is understood that none of the non-resident voters were called in at the expence of Mr. Gurney or his friends, but that all who would come were brought by the sitting members.

The numbers on the poll were—

For the Hon. H. Hobart	-	1622
Right Hon. W. Windham		1159
Bartlett Gurney, Esq.	-	1076

Norwich has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, steward, recorder, two sheriffs, twenty-three aldermen, and sixty common-council-men.

Right of election, March 12, 1701, is in
the

the freeholders and such freemen only of the said city as are entered in the books, and do not receive alms or charity.

Number of voters, about *three thousand*.

Returning officers, the sheriffs.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

The influence of this county is possessed by the Duke of Portland, and Lord Viscount Newark: the sons of these noblemen are the present representatives.

NOTTINGHAM TOWN.

No town in England is more independent than Nottingham. The corporation, however, contrive to procure the return of one or both of the members.

The present members at first established them-

themselves on the common management of a compromise, the High or Tory party naming one, and the Low party the other; but since the leading men of these two parties have confounded the distinction, by coalitions for places, pensions, and titles, the names are only used to impose upon the prejudices of the ignorant, and to convert those prejudices to the purposes of the leaders.

In Bristol, Newcastle, Liverpool, and most of the large towns where the electors are too numerous to be influenced or purchased, we see this practice resorted to; and shallow as it appears to be, we perceive it procure the return of one, or both the members in each of these places.

A great part of the electors of Nottingham had sense to discover this artifice, and spirit to oppose it. They nominated Doctor Crompton of Derby, a gentleman of known
integrity

integrity and independence, and without solicitation, influence, treating, or corruption, five hundred and sixty of the voters gave him their unbiassed suffrages. This commendable exertion of independence was unsuccessful; but it is an omen of the reviving spirit of British liberty, and will have its effect upon a future vacancy.

The state of the poll was—

For Lord Carrington	1211
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D. P. Coke, Esq.	1070
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Doctor Crompton	560
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Nottingham has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation. It is governed by a mayor and six aldermen, who preside over the seven wards into which the town is divided, a recorder, two sheriffs, and twenty-four common-council-men.

Right of election was anciently, according to Browne Willis, in the inhabitant housekeepers, which was the original right of the whole people of England, but by resolution of the house, June 10, 1701, it was agreed that the right was in the mayor, freemen, and freeholders of forty shillings a year; and that the eldest sons of freemen *by birth*, and the youngest sons of freemen *who have served seven years' apprenticeship*, whether at Nottingham or elsewhere, and also such persons as have served apprenticeships to any freeman of Nottingham were well intitled to demand their freedom.

Number of voters, about *seventeen hundred*.

Returning officers, the sheriffs.

OAKHAMPTON.

This borough is nominally the property of
the

the present members, Thomas Tyrwhitt, Esq. and Robert Bateman Robson, Esq. who purchased it of the Duke of Bedford and Earl Spencer, but it is supposed to belong to a person of very high rank. It is by no means a secure borough, the right of voting being in two descriptions of people, freeholders and freemen. The first feudal under a portreve chosen by the homage of a court leet of the lord of the manor, the second corporate, who derive their privilege from a charter granted by James the First, and governed by a mayor, seven principal burgesses, and eight assistants. It had been usual for many years for these two bodies to co-operate, and choose the same person to fill the two offices of portreve and mayor. This junction of these offices took place in 1623, and continued, with only one exception, till 1789, when they were divided, and a double return of members took place in consequence at the ensuing general election in 1790. It was then determined

that the mayor, and not the portreve, was the returning officer. The freeholds giving the right to vote, are the property of Mr. Tyrwhitt and Mr. Robson, but as they do not compose a majority, a part of the freemen must be obtained to secure the election of the proprietors.

This borough first sent members the 28 of Edward the First, was discontinued the same year, and restored the 16 of Charles the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, seven principal burgesses, and eight assistants.

Right of election, February 24, 1710, is in the freeholders and freemen being made free according to the charter and by laws of the said borough.

Number of voters, *one hundred and eighty-two.*

Return-

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietors, Thomas Tyrwhitt, Esq. and
Robert Bateman Robson, Esq.

ORFORD

Is an insignificant village on the Suffolk coast, like Aldborough and Dunwich. The right of election is in a corporation of twenty individuals composed of the family and dependents of the Marquis of Hertford.

It sent members the whole of Edward the First, was omitted to be summoned by his successor Edward the Second, but was restored by Henry the Eighth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, seven portmen, and twelve capital burgessees.

Right of election, February 10, 1699, is

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in

in the mayor, portmen, capital burgesſes, and freemen of the ſaid borough.

January 29, 1708, ſame reſolution confirmed.

Number of voters, *twenty*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietor, Marquis of Hertford.

OXFORDSHIRE.

The Duke of Marlborough influences the return of one member for this county, and the Tory party the other.

OXFORD CITY.

The Duke of Marlborough, who has the corporation in his intereſt, influences the re-
turn

turn of one member, and the other was at the last general election contested. The numbers on the poll were—

For Henry Peters, Esq. 658

Francis Burton, Esq. 504

Arthur Annesley, Esq. 461

Oxford has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, four aldermen, eight assistants, two bailiffs, and twenty-four common-council-men.

Right of election, February 19, 1621, in the corporation and freemen.

Number of voters, about *seven hundred*.

Returning officers, the mayor, and bailiffs.

Patron, Duke of Marlborough, *one member*.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY

Has sent members since the 1 of James the First.

Right of election, in the doctors and actual masters.

Number of voters, *four hundred and fifty.*

Returning officers, the Vice Chancellor, and heads of colleges.

Patron, the minister for the time being.

PEMBROKESHIRE.

The principal interest in this county is that of Sir Hugh Owen, at present a minor.

PEM-

PEMBROKE TOWN.

The same interest prevails in this town as does in the county.

It has sent members since the 27 of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation, a mayor, two bailiffs, and an indefinite number of burgesſes.

Right of election, February 23, 1711, in the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesſes, of the ſeveral boroughs of Pembroke, Tenby, and Whifton.

Number of voters, about *five hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Sir Hugh Owen.

PENRYN.

This borough is immediately under the influence of Lord De Dunstanville. The Duke of Leeds had a member returned for this place at the general election in 1790, but his grace has now relinquished it to the former nobleman.

It has sent members since the 1 of Mary.

Corporation consists of a mayor, steward, recorder, eight aldermen, and twelve common-council.

Right of election, in the corporation and inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, *one hundred and forty.*

Return-

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Lord De Dunstanville.

PETERBOROUGH.

Earl Fitzwilliam, who has a considerable property in this city, and a seat in the neighbourhood, has the entire influence of its representation.

It has sent members since the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, 16 June, 1701, in the inhabitants paying scot and lot.

April 9, 1728, in the inhabitants within the precincts of the minister there, being house holders not receiving alms; and in the

A a 4

other

other inhabitants within the city paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, *four hundred and thirty.*

Returning officer, a bailiff appointed by the Dean and Chapter.

Proprietor, Earl Fitzwilliam.

PETERSFIELD.

The foundations of a few old dwelling houses and shambles, which give the power of appointing two members for this borough, are the property of William Jolliffe, Esq. It is at present represented by this gentleman and his son.

It first sent members the 35 of Edward the First, was discontinued the next year, and not restored till the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corpo-

Corporation.—This borough was incorporated by Elizabeth, and governed by a mayor and commonalty, but it has given up all its privileges to the lord of the manor, at whose court leet a titular, or nominal, mayor is annually chosen.

Right of election, May 9, 1727, in the freeholders of lands, or ancient dwelling houses or shambles, or dwelling houses, or shambles built upon ancient foundations within the said borough.

Number of voters, nominally *one hundred and fifty*, but actually only *one*.

Returning officer, the titular mayor.

Proprietor, William Jolliffe, Esq.

PLYMPTON.

A small borough consisting of not more than two hundred mean houses or cottages.

It

It sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 17 of Edward the Fourth, and restored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation. It has had charters from Baldwin de Redvers, Earl of Devonshire, Edward the Third, Richard the Second, Henry the Fifth, and Henry the Sixth. The system of modelling charters, practised in the arbitrary reigns of Charles the Second, and James the Second, was practised in this borough, but the charter of James the Second was at the Revolution voted destructive of the constitution and government; and the freemen, claiming under the former charters, were re-admitted to their franchise.

Right of election, January 28, 1702, in the mayor, bailiffs, and freemen of the said borough, and in the sons of freemen, who, although they have a right to demand their freedom, have been refused the same.

Num-

Number of voters, about *two hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.

PLYMOUTH.

This is a large and populous town, and, including Plymouth Dock, is inferior to very few in England; yet its election rights extend only to about two hundred freemen.

The first resolution of the house on the right of voting in this town was, that it existed in the mayor and *commonalty*. The second, that the word 'commonalty' extended only to freemen. In like manner we have seen the word *populacy*, in the case of Seaford, determined to mean only tax-payers. We do not exactly agree with this modern definition of words, but the present system of representation

presentation, if it can be called a system, is so defective and inexplicable in all its parts, that nothing short of establishing a general right of suffrage can remedy the inconveniences attending it.

Plymouth first sent members the 26 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 7 of Edward the Second, and restored the 20 of Henry the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen, and forty-eight common-council-men.

Right of election, June 9, 1660, in the mayor and commonalty.

January 17, 1739, resolved that the word 'commonalty' extends only to the freemen of the said borough.

Number of voters, about *two hundred*.

Return-

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Sir Frederic Lemon Rogers, for
the admiralty.

PONTEFRACT,

This right of election in this borough has
been the subject of great litigation and con-
test for above twenty years.

This right was originally in the inhabi-
tants refient, or resident.

In 1700 it was resolved by the house to be
in such persons only as have an inheritance,
or freehold of burgage-tenure, within the said
borough.

It 1715 it was resolved that Pontefract was
a borough by prescription; and that the right
of election was in persons having a freehold
of burgage-tenure, paying a burgage-rent.

In 1770 it was resolved to be in persons having, within the said borough, a freehold of burgage-tenure, paying a burgage-rent.

The number of burgage-tenures in Pontefract was about three hundred and twenty, of which one hundred and ninety belonged to Lord Galway, ninety to Sir Rowland Wynn, and forty-two to Mr. Walfsh.

The Right Hon. Charles James Fox, and James Hare, Esq. petitioned on the right of the inhabitants resent against the burgage-holders in 1774. The committee which was appointed, the 28 of February, 1775, to try this question of right, made their report to the house the 3 of March following in favour of the burgage-holders.

A second petition was presented by John Smith, Esq. in 1782 on the same ground, when the committee, who made their report

to the house on the 11 of April, 1783, determined, contrary to the former one, in favour of the inhabitants resident.

In 1784, the Hon. William Cockayne, and John Walth, Esq. petitioned in favour of the right of the burgage-holders, when it was again determined on the 11 of July following in favour of the inhabitants.

In 1790, this point was a fourth time contested by John Anstruther, Esq. and Charles Mellish, Esq. on the part of the burgage-holders, and John Smith, Esq. and William Southeron, Esq. on the part of the inhabitants, when it was again determined in favour of the latter.

This decision was appealed against and finally decided the 9 of March, 1791, in favour of the inhabitants.

Lord

Lord Galway has lately bought Mr. Walsh's houses, which make his property in the borough amount to two hundred and thirty-two houses, the whole borough not exceeding six hundred houses. This property gives his lordship the power of nominating one of the members.

Mr. Smith, who contested the right of the inhabitants through so many stages, and at so enormous an expence, continues to be the other member.

Pontefract first sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 1 of Edward the Second, and restored in the reign of Charles the Second.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, and twelve aldermen.

Right of election, is in the inhabitants house-holders resident there.

Num-

Number of voters, *six hundred.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Lord Viscount Galway, one member.

POOLE.

The right of election in this town, like the last, was in the inhabitants house-keepers, who exercised that privilege from the 14 of Edward the Third to the year 1689, when the corporation assumed the exclusive right of electing the members.

The inhabitants have five times petitioned for the restoration of their franchise, but without that success which has attended the petitioners for the right of the inhabitants of Pomfret.

The first petition was in 1689, when the

rights of the people were first assumed by the corporation, and the committee were so completely satisfied of the justice of their claim, that they came to the following resolution,

February 9, 1689, " That the matter in
 " question was, whether the right of election
 " be in the mayor and burgeses *only*, or in
 " the mayor, burgeses, and commonalty, who
 " pay scot and lot?"

And thereupon the committee agreed " that
 " the right of election of burgeses to serve in
 " this present convention for the town and
 " county of Poole, is in the mayor, burgeses,
 " *and commonalty of the said town and county*
 " *who pay scot and lot.*"

To this report of the committee the house thought proper to disagree, which gave an implied sanction to the assumed right of the mayor and burgeses.

In

In 1774, the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, and John Williams, Esq. petitioned for the restoration of the rights of the inhabitants. On the trial of this petition it appeared that the returns had always been made by the mayor, burgessees, *and commonalty*, from the earliest periods to the year 1695 inclusive.

Thomas Shepherd, an inhabitant of the age of ninety-eight, proved that the right existed up to that year, and that he had voted as an inhabitant house-holder, at an election in 1695, when Mr. Ashley was chosen member for Poole by *the commonalty*.

The committee determined that the word "commonalty" meant the mayor and burgessees *only*.

In the case of Colchester, the 28 of March,

1628, a contrary determination took place upon similar evidence.

In the case of Boston, the 8 of March, 1628, it was resolved that the right of election was in the *commonalty*, and not in the mayor, aldermen, and common-council.

In the case of Bridport, the 2 of April, 1628, it was determined that the word "common-
"alty" meant all the inhabitants not receiving alms.

In the case of Warwick, May 3, 1628, the word "commonalty" was determined to mean the whole inhabitants of the town.

These contradictory resolutions shew that the rights of election are very little understood, or greatly trifled with. In most of the boroughs we perceive resolutions of the house
and

and of committees equally contradictory to each other, and for the most part subversive of the original right of suffrage, which was in the inhabitants at large in every part of England.

Joshua Mauger, Esq. who obtained his seat for Poole in consequence of this determination against the petition of Mr. Fox and Mr. Williams, was so far convinced of the justice of the claim set up by the inhabitants, that he became a candidate on their suffrages at the ensuing general election in 1780, against the corporation, and became a petitioner for the re-establishment of that right which he had been the cause of depriving them of in the preceding parliament.

The decision was again in favour of the corporation.

Lord Daer, son of the Earl of Selkirk, and

Lord Haddo, son of the Earl of Aberdeen, became candidates on the same ground in 1790, and their petition had a similar fate.

Lord Daer again tried the question on appeal, when it was finally determined against the right of the inhabitants.

The corporation are managed by John Jeffreys, Esq. one of their present members, and Benjamin Lister, Esq. one of their late members, under the influence of the treasury. These leaders have for many years been contending for the superiority over each other, and their respective supporters omit no opportunity of displaying a rancor and jealousy that is very inauspicious to the existence of such a coalition.

Poole sent members the 14 of Edward the Third, was discontinued the 42 of the same reign, and restored the 31 of Henry the Sixth.

Corpo-

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, sheriff, coroner, town-clerk, an indefinite number of aldermen, and an indefinite number of burgessees.

Number of voters, *ninety-four*.

Returning officer, the sheriff.

Patrons, John Jeffreys, Esq. and Benjamin Lister, Esq. for the Treasury.

PORTSMOUTH.

The right of election in this town is, like Poole, exclusively in the corporation, who are mostly men of independent fortunes, but by family and political connections are united under the direction of Sir John Carter, an eminent brewer, and one of the aldermen of this place.

This gentleman is a singular exception to all the corporation patrons in Great Britain. He is the only one that is not a placeman, loan-monger, or contractor, and consequently not under the influence of the treasury. It is to this circumstance that the people are indebted for having so excellent and exemplary a character as Mr. Erskine in parliament for this town.

Portsmouth has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen, and an indefinite number of burgessees.

Right of election, January 24, 1695, in the mayor, aldermen, and burgessees of the said borough *only*.

Number of voters, about *one hundred*.

Return-

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Sir John Carter.

PRESTON.

This is one of the places where the ancient right of election has not been limited. Attempts have not been wanting to obtain resolutions of the House that the words "*all the inhabitants*" meant only burghesses, as was the case in the Poole decision. It was here determined, November 29, 1768, "That the words *all the inhabitants* did not mean only the in-burghesses of the last guild, or those admitted since by copy of court-roll, who are inhabitants of the said place, but *all the inhabitants at large.*"

This right extends to every man who has attained the age of twenty-one years, has resided six months in the town, and obtained a parochial settlement.

Preston has many years acknowledged the patronage of the Earl of Derby and Sir Harry Hoghton, but they have by no means a commanding influence, as was manifested at the last election. Mr. Horrocks, a gentleman very eminent in the manufacturing line in this town, was opposed to Lord Stanley, son of the Earl of Derby, and Sir Henry Philip Hoghton. Mr. Horrocks was supported by the Earl of Liverpool, who is chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and by the whole weight of the Church and King Club at Manchester, a party better known in 1745, by the name of the Manchester Jacobites. At the close of the poll the numbers were—

For Lord Stanley	-	-	772
Sir H. P. Hoghton	-	-	756
John Horrocks, Esq.	-	-	742

Preston was summoned to send members
 7 the

the 23 of Edward the First, was omitted the 24 and 25, summoned again the 26, omitted the 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32, of that king, summoned the 33, omitted the 34, summoned the 35, and the 1 of Edward the Second, and was then discontinued till the 1 of Edward the Sixth, when it was again restored.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen, two bailiffs, twelve capital burgessees, twelve common burgessees, a town-clerk, and two serjeants at mace.

Right of election, December 18, 1661, all the inhabitants have voices in the election.

November 29, 1768, same resolution confirmed.

1780, again confirmed.

1784, same determination.

Number

Number of voters, *sixteen hundred.*

Returning officers, the mayor and two bailiffs.

Patrons, Earl of Derby, and Sir H. P. Hoghton.

QUEENBOROUGH.

This borough is under the joint influence of the Ordnance and Admiralty boards. The electors, who are one hundred and thirty-one in number, hold places under these boards, the salary alone of which amounts to the sum of TWO THOUSAND, THREE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-EIGHT POUNDS, TEN SHILLINGS, PER ANNUM!!

This immaculate borough first sent members by virtue of a charter the 12 of Elizabeth.

Corpo-

Corporation consists of a mayor, four jurats, and two bailiffs. The officers are a constable, town-serjeant, and a water-bailiff.

Right of election in 1729, it was agreed to be in the mayor, jurats, bailiff, and burgessees.

Number of voters, *one hundred and thirty-one.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patrons, Ordnance and Admiralty.

RADNORSHIRE.

The principal interest in this county is in the Earl of Oxford and Thomas Johnes, Esq.

RANDOR TOWN.

The right of election to the boroughs of
Radnor,

Radnor, Ryader, Knighton, Knucklas, and Kevenliel, is unsettled; the determination of the house is, that it is in the burgessees of these boroughs, but it does not specify whether in the *resident* burgessees exclusively, or in the *resident* and *non-resident* jointly. This question has been three times tried, and the candidate who had the majority of non-resident burgessees has been each time successful; but as no final decision has yet taken place under the statute of the 28 of George the Third, chap. 52, it is still open to contest.

The boroughs first sent members the 27 of Henry the Eighth.

Corporation consists of a bailiff and twenty-five burgessees.

Right of election, November 12, 1690, in the burgessees of Radnor, Ryader, Knighton, Knucklas, and Kevenliel only.

Number

Number of voters, *one thousand*.

Returning officer, the bailiff.

Patron, Earl of Oxford.

READING.

This is termed an open borough, having neither patron nor proprietor.

It has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen, and twelve capital burgessees.

Right of election, December 2, 1708, in the freemen and inhabitants, such freemen not receiving alms, and such inhabitants paying scot and lot.

May

May 30, 1716, in the inhabitants paying
scot and lot.

Number of voters, about *six hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

EAST RETFORD.

This borough has had one of its members nominated by the Duke of Newcastle, whose principal estates, and residence, are in the neighbourhood, till the last general election, when William Petrie, Esq. and Sir Wharton Amcots, were invited by the freemen in opposition to that interest. Mr. Blackburne, the present member for Aldborough in Yorkshire, was a candidate on what is called here the Newcastle party. At the close of the poll the numbers were—

For William Petrie, Esq.	82
--------------------------	----

Sir W. Amcots	68
---------------	----

J. Blackburne, Esq.	60
---------------------	----

Sir

Sir Wharton Amcots would have been six votes under Mr. Blackburne; but Mr. Petrie gave him fourteen of his second votes, and got him his election.

The right of voting here is at present understood to be in freemen, who obtain their freedom by birth, as being the eldest son of a free man, born within the borough, by serving seven years' apprenticeship to a free-man, or by redemption, that is, by gift or purchase of the two bailiffs, and a majority of the aldermen. Twenty-two of the latter description have been made at one time by the corporation since the last election, to throw the whole influence of the borough into the power of the Duke of Newcastle; but it is presumed the right of these surreptitious freemen will undergo a legal investigation, either in a court of law, or before a committee of the House of Commons. The charter under which the corporation have bound them-

selves to act, mentions no other freemen but those who become so by birth, or apprenticeship; and the making freemen by what is called redemption, has no other sanction than that of a by law made by themselves, which has several times been determined by the court of King's Bench to have no validity.

Retford sent members the 9 of Edward the Second, was discontinued the next year, and restored the 13 of Elizabeth.

Corporation consists of a senior bailiff, and junior bailiff, a high steward, a deputy-steward, and twelve aldermen.

Right of election, April 15, 1700, is as well in the burgesses non-resident as the burgesses resident within the said borough.

March 17, 1701, the younger sons of freemen have not a right to demand their freedom of the said borough.

Novem-

November 28, 1702, persons not inhabiting the said borough are incapable of being made free of the same by redemption. All the sons of freemen have a right to the freedom of the said borough.

January 17, 1705, is in such freemen only as have a right to their freedom by birth, as eldest sons of freemen, or by serving seven years' apprenticeship, or have it by redemption, whether inhabiting or not inhabiting the said borough, at the time of their being made free.

January 11, 1710, is in such freemen only as have a right to their freedom by birth, as eldest sons of freemen, or by serving seven years' apprenticeship, or have it by redemption, inhabiting in the said borough at the time of their being made free.

Here are five resolutions contradicting

each other. This right is still to be investigated under the 28 of George the Third; and another election will in all probability determine whether two and twenty electors can be created in one day to give the power of nominating members of parliament to a peer of the realm.

Number of voters, legally *one hundred and thirty*. If the redemption freemen are established, the number will be uncertain, as the corporation have proposed making all the Duke of Newcastle's tenantry.

Returning officers, the two bailiffs.

Patron of the corporation, Duke of Newcastle.

RICHMOND.

This is a burgage-hold borough: the number of burgage-tenures are two hundred and
seventy,

seventy, thirty of which number belong to Mr. York, the remaining two hundred and forty are mostly the property of Lord Dundas, who can consequently nominate both the members.

Some of the aldermen, and a few independent freeholders, have votes, but these are an inconsiderable number.

It has sent members since the 27 of Elizabeth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen, and twenty-four common-council-men.

Right of election, March 9, 1727, in such persons as are owners of ancient burgages in the said borough, having a right of pasture in a common field, called Whitecliffe Pasture.

Number of voters, nominally *two hundred and seventy*, actually but *one*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietor, Lord Dundas.

RIPON.

This borough is the property of Mrs. Allanson, who possesses the burgage-tenures, in right of which she nominates the two members.

It sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the next year, and restored in the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen, and twenty-four assistants.

Right of election, in the burgage-holders.

Number

Number of voters, nominally *one hundred and forty-six*, actually but *one*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietor, Mrs. Allanson.

ROCHESTER.

This city is influenced in the return of one member only, by the dock-yard at Chatham, and the naval establishments here.

Chatham, Brompton, and Stroud, though adjoining towns, are not within the corporate limits of Rochester.

It has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, eleven aldermen, and twelve common-council-men, a town-clerk, and a water bailiff.

Number of voters, *six hundred and thirty*.

Right of election, in the freemen.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, the Admiralty, one member.

NEW ROMNEY

Is one of the Cinque Ports; the number of freemen who possess the right of voting is seventeen: the whole body at present consists of nineteen, but two are disqualified by holding revenue places.

Sir Edward Deering has possessed himself of an influence in this place that is not likely to be opposed with any success. His property in the neighbourhood is tenanted out, *without lease* and at a very *easy rent* to the electors, who never have been known to oppose Sir Edward's inclinations in election matters since this method has been adopted.

Romney sent members in the time of Henry the Third, was discontinued by Ed-

ward the Second, and restored by Richard the Second.

Corporation. The charter was seized by Colonel Strode, by order of Charles the Second, and never has been returned. The corporation, by that charter, was to consist of a mayor, twelve jurats, twenty-six common-council, and a town-clerk. The whole number of freemen would not now half supply the original number of the corporation.

Right of election, in the freemen.

Number of voters, *seventeen*.

Returning officer, the mayor, who is always one of Sir Edward Deering's agents.

Proprietor, Sir Edward Deering.

RUTLANDSHIRE.

The principal interest in this small county
is

is the Earl of Gainsborough's, whose relation, Mr. Edwards, is one of the members. An opposition was expected at the last election for the other seat; but Lord Sherrard, one of the late members, thinking proper to decline, Sir William Lowther, his opponent, was chosen without opposition.

RYE

Is one of the Cinque Ports. The whole body of freemen of this borough were placed at the time Mr. Crew's bill for preventing revenue officers from voting at elections of members of parliament was passed. The whole constituent body was therefore disqualified. Six new freemen were immediately made. One of the old ones, Mr. Thomas Phillips Lambe, son of the patron, resigned his place as a king's waiter in the customs, to his son, a minor; and two others were superannuated on half pay. These nine make up the present number of electors for this town,

port, and borough. The whole number of jurats and freemen are nine and twenty; but the remaining twenty are all placemen.

Rye sent four members to a national council after the battle of Evesham, in the reign of Henry the Third, as did all the rest of the Cinque Ports. It was summoned again the 42 of Edward the Third, and has continued to return them ever since.

Corporation ought to consist of a mayor and twelve jurats; at present it has only a mayor, who is always Mr. Lambe, the patron, or his son, and four jurats.

Right of election, December 9, 1702, is only in the mayor, jurats, and freemen, inhabiting in the port of Rye, and paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, *nine*.

Return-

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Thomas Lambe, Esq. tally-cutter
in the Exchequer.

RYEGATE.

The right of voting in this borough is in the freeholders. The number of freeholds are about two hundred, the whole of which have been purchased by the Earl of Hardwicke and Lord Somers, who each nominate a member.

It has sent members ever since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, in the freeholders.

Number of voters, nominally *two hundred*,
actually only *two*.

Return-

Returning officer, the bailiff.

Proprietors, Earl of Hardwicke, and Lord Somers.

SHROPSHIRE.

This county is not immediately under the influence of the peers.

SALTASH.

The right of election has been four times contested for this borough, and is not yet finally determined:

In 1773 the charter of this borough became forfeited, and a new one was granted the 7th of June, 1774, by his present majesty. The new corporation was to consist of a mayor, six aldermen, and an indefinite number of burgeses. These were to elect a recorder,

recorder, and choose members of parliament. A power was reserved in the crown to displace at pleasure any mayor, recorder, alderman, burgess, or town-clerk.

Mr. John Buller possessed six and thirty burgage-tenures in this borough, which he contended had the right to elect the members, and on the presumption of this right he contested every return made by the corporation. The three first were determined by the committees of the House of Commons, who tried the petitions, in favour of the corporation; the last was determined in favour of Mr. Buller's burgage-holds.

The Right Hon. Charles Jenkinson, now Earl of Liverpool, and Charles Ambler, Esq. were chosen by the corporation at the general election in 1784, and resolved, by a committee, on Monday the 25th of April, 1785, *to be duly elected.* A vacancy happened in October
1786,

1786, by Mr. Jenkinson being created a peer, when the Earl of Mornington was elected by the corporation in his room. John Lemon, Esq. petitioned on the right of Mr. Buller's burgage-holds; and the committee who were appointed to try the merits of this petition, reported that the Earl of Mornington, who had the votes of the corporation, was *not duly elected*, and that Mr. Lemon, who had the burgage-hold votes, was duly elected, and ought to have been returned.

Here were two members, Mr. Ambler, who had been chosen by the corporation, and Mr. Lemon, who had been elected by the burgage-holders, sitting in the same parliament, and representing one and the same borough, on the choice of two different bodies of electors!!!

Salisbury has sent members since the 6 of Edward the Sixth.

Corpo-

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, six aldermen, and an indefinite number of freemen.

Right of election, in the burgage-tenures.

Number of voters, nominally *thirty-six*, actually only *one*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietor, J. Buller, Esq.

SANDWICH

Is one of the Cinque Ports, and is partly under the influence of the Admiralty, who nominates one of its members.

There is at this place a harbour with a large revenue, a custom-house cutter, two custom-house boats, a fort, two castles in the neighbourhood, and ten riding officers, all supplied

supplied from amongst the freemen of Sandwich. Any owner of a vessel or hoy, being a freeman, may have his ship taken into the service of the admiralty upon application: at present there are many vessels so employed.

It sent members to the national council in the reign of Henry the Third, and was again summoned the 42 of Edward the Third.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twelve jurats, and twenty-four common-council-men.

Right of election, in the freemen, resident and non-resident.

Number of voters, about *six hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Sir Philip Stephens, for the Admiralty, *one member*.

SALISBURY

Is a large city like Bath, Winchester, &c. where the right of election is possessed exclusively by the corporation.

It has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twenty-three aldermen, and thirty common-council-men.

Right of election, April 1, 1689, in the mayor and corporation.

Number of voters, *fifty-four*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Earl of Radnor, *one member*.

OLD

OLD SARUM.

This is a borough without a house or inhabitant!!! The right of election is in seven burgage-tenures, all the property of Lord Camelford!!!

It sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the next year, and restored the 34 of Edward the Third.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, November 14, 1688, is in the freeholders, being burgage-holders of the said borough.

Number of voters, nominally *seven*, but actually only *one*.

Returning officer, a bailiff appointed by the proprietor.

Proprietor, Lord Camelford.

SCARBOROUGH.

A large town like Andover, Portsmouth, Poole, &c. where the right of election is exercised by the corporation only.

The corporation consists of forty-four individuals, but only twenty-two of that number are eligible to vote in elections, the rest being disqualified by holding revenue places in the custom-houses of Scarborough, Whitby, Gisborough, and Hartlepool, which are all supplied with officers from this immaculate body. The Duke of Rutland and Lord Mulgrave have the command of this corporation, and the Duke of Beaufort holds the office

fice of recorder for the former till his grace comes of age.

Scarborough has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of two bailiffs, two coroners, four chamberlains, and thirty-six burgessees, the officers, a recorder, and town-clerk, &c.

Right of election, April 21, 1736, in the corporation *only*.

Number of voters, *twenty-two*.

Returning officers, the two bailiffs.

Patrons, Duke of Rutland, and Lord Mulgrave.

SEAFORD

Is one of the cinque ports, and is rendered

D d 3

conspi-

conspicuous by its contests, litigations, and the number of petitions it has brought before the house.

The right of election was in the inhabitants at large till 1761, when it was confined to the bailiffs, jurats, freemen, and tax-payers, by a resolution of the house, explaining the word 'populacy' to mean those persons only.

From this period to the year 1786, it became the practice of the magistrates to suffer only twenty-four of the inhabitants, whom they could influence, to pay taxes: nearly one hundred of the most opulent and respectable of the house-keepers were thereby excluded from the right of voting in elections.

The author of this work undertook to vindicate the rights of these people in 1784, and after several appeals to the quarter sessions of the borough, where he could obtain no redress,

dress, he established their right finally after four petitions and one appeal to committees of the house of commons.

The right of election being extended to every house-holder of the borough who payed, or who was eligible to pay, scot and lot, the corporation made near thirty non-resident freemen to out-number the majority of legal electors, among whom were the Duke of Richmond, the Right Hon. William Pitt, the Hon. Colonel Lenox, John Sargent, Esq. M. P. John Aldridge, Esq. M. P. Robert Steele, Esq. brother to the paymaster of the army, &c. &c. but the committee on the fourth petition determined that, " the right
" of election in the town, port, and borough
" of Seaford, was in the inhabitant house-
" keepers paying scot and lot, *and in them*
" *only.*"

An attempt was also made to introduce six

and twenty labouring-men, who were employed by Mr. Harben, agent to the Duke of Richmond, as diggers of chalk, at fourteen pence a day, into the borough as tax-payers. They were all put into a new poor rate as occupying houses, which were really in the possession of widows, or revenue officers, who had no votes; one of them lived under a boat, which he turned upside down to serve as a roof to a hovel of thatch; a second was put to inhabit a stable; a third was taxed for the poor-house, and one for a house that had been pulled down at the time, and has never since been rebuilt.

These men were all brought to Seaford at the general election in 1790, and every one of them accepted by the returning officer, and polled as good votes, but were afterwards rejected by a committee of the house of commons, on the petition of Sir Godfrey Webster and Mr. John Tarleton.

The

The poll was protracted to nine days' continuance, in order to give the pretended residence of these men the duration of six calendar months, required by the statute of 26 of George the Third, chap. 100; and the parliament happening to be dissolved seventeen days before the expiration of that time, the returning officer did not proceed to the election till the eighth day after making proclamation, as he was empowered by law to do: but to get over the other nine days, he suffered the ministerial candidates to make speeches for half an hour each against the eligibility of each vote, whether the vote was objectionable or not: the counsel for the candidates declaimed for the same time, and he caused the six oaths of allegiance, supremacy, declaration of test, residence, abjuration, and bribery, to be taken by each voter, which occupied so much time that only four votes could be polled in a day, till the seventeen days were expired, when the chalk-diggers

were all brought up, and their votes accepted. The poll was then suffered to be closed, and the ministerial candidates were returned.

The attempts of the Duke of Richmond to monopolize this borough having all failed, the Right Hon. Thomas Pelham, who has always had the lead of the opposite party, may now be considered as the patron of this borough, Mr. C. R. Ellis, and his brother Mr. George Ellis, who were candidates on Mr. Pelham's interest, having succeeded at the last general election against Mr. Durand, and Mr. Leach, who were supported by the Duke of Richmond.

The numbers on the poll were—

For C. R. Ellis, Esq.	56
George Ellis, Esq.	50
John Durand, Esq.	46
—— Leach, Esq.	42
9	Seaford

Seaford sent members the 26 of Edward the First, was several times discontinued and restored till the 16 of Charles the First, since which period it has sent members without intermission.

Corporation consists of a bailiff, recorder, an indefinite number of jurats, and an indefinite number of freemen.

Right of election—that the right of election, according as the same was decided by the last determination in the house of commons on the 10 of February, 1670—1, is in the *populacy*, or, according to the interpretation of the word *populacy*, by the resolution of the said house on the 15 of December, 1761, in the inhabitants house-keepers of the said town and port, paying scot and lot, and in such inhabitants house-keepers *only*, February 19, 1795.

Number

Number of voters, *ninety-eight*.

Returning officer, the bailiff.

Patron, Right Hon. Thomas Pelham,

SHAFTESBURY.

This borough consists of about four hundred houses, near three hundred of which were the property of Mr. Mortimer and Mr. Bryant, but they have lately been all purchased by Mr. Paul Benfield, who is now proprietor of more than three parts out of four of the borough.

It is no part of the plan of this work to enter into the system of bribery practised in any of the boroughs, as it would be injustice to mark out any particular place when that practice is become so general : and those who are
in

in possession of the mode of bribing voters in one or two cases may apply it to all the rest, and he will not be very incorrect in his knowledge of the whole.

In 1774, Sir Thomas Rumbold, and Sir Francis Sykes, two nabobs, were returned to represent this borough. A petition was presented by Hans Wintrop Mortimer, Esq. complaining that the two sitting members, by themselves and their agents, had been guilty of many gross and notorious acts of bribery and corruption.

It appeared in evidence, on the trial of this petition, that money to the amount of several thousand pounds had been given among the voters, in sums of twenty guineas a man, and that the persons who were intrusted with the disbursement of this money, and who were *chiefly the magistrates of the town*, devised very singular and absurd contrivances to conceal
through

through what channel it was conveyed to the electors. A person, concealed under a ludicrous and fantastical disguise, and called by the name of Punch, was placed in a small apartment, and through a hole in the door delivered out to the voters parcels containing twenty guineas each; upon which they were conducted to another apartment in the same house, where they found another person, called Punch's Secretary, who required them to sign notes for the value received: these notes were made payable to an imaginary character, to whom was given the name of *Glenbucket*. Two of the witnesses swore that they had seen Punch through the hole in the door, and that they knew him to be Mr. Matthews, an alderman of the town.

This is the substance of the bribery case, which is similar in all its parts to that of Hindon, except that Punch is here stated to be

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an alderman, and at Hindon he was the clergyman of the town.

Shaftesbury has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, and twelve aldermen.

Right of election, February 29, 1695, is only in the inhabitants of the said borough paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, near *three hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietor, Paul Benfield, Esq.

The numbers on the poll at the last general election for members for this borough were—

For

For Paul Benfield, Esq.	224
Walter Boyd, Esq.	190
James Milnes, Esq.	143
William Dawson, Esq.	105

SHOREHAM.

Another case of bribery occurs in this borough, which, as it has been the cause of reforming its system, as was the case at Cricklade, it becomes our duty to notice it.

In the year 1771, the returning officer returned a candidate to parliament who had only 37 votes, to the prejudice of another, who had 87.

It appeared from the defence made by the officer, that a majority of freemen of this borough had formed themselves into a society under the name of the *Christian Club*, and that
under

under the sanction of piety and religion they made a traffic of their oaths and consciences, and set the representation of the borough to sale to the highest bidder.

The members of the society were bound to secrecy by oaths, writings, bonds with large penalties, and all the ties that could strengthen the compact; and they carried on their traffic by means of a select committee, who, under pretence of scruples of conscience, never appeared or voted at any election themselves; but having sold the borough, and received the stipulated price, they gave directions to the rest how to vote; and by this complicated evasion, the employers and their agents, having fully satisfied their consciences, shared the money as soon as the election was over without any scruple.

This case being proved before the committee, they reported the whole matter to the

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house:

house: a bill was thereupon brought in to incapacitate eighty-one freemen of Shoreham by name, from voting at elections of members to serve in parliament, and for preventing bribery and corruption in that borough by extending the right of election to all the freeholders of the Rape of Bramber, one of the six divisions of the county of Suffex. This bill was passed into a law, and received the royal assent the last day of that session.

Here is another instance of parliamentary reform, added to that of Cricklade, and had the right of voting been extended to the resident inhabitant house-holders, instead of the freeholders, it would have had the effect of resisting influence, as well as corruption: but where the right of suffrage is annexed to property instead of persons, we invariably see influence prevail.

Shoreham has sent members since the 23^d of Edward the First.

Corpo-

Corporation, *twelve.*

Right of election, by act of parliament in all the freeholders of the Rape of Bramber, as well as in those who by ancient usage had a right to vote for the borough, the 11 of George the Third, chap. 3.

Number of voters, *twelve hundred.*

Returning officer, the constable.

Patron, Duke of Norfolk, *one member.*

SHREWSBURY.

The right of election in this town has been very much limited: so late as the year 1709, we find by the journals of the house of commons it extended not only to the burgessees inhabiting within the town paying scot and lot, but also to those inhabiting six other parishes, and forty-six vills in its suburbs and neigh-

bourhood. These were all disfranchised by a resolution passed in 1723, and the right was limited to the burgeses inhabiting the precincts of the borough only,

Sir William Pulteney commands an interest that secures one seat: the other was contested at the last election between the brothers of Lord Berwick and Sir Richard Hill, at an expence of near one hundred thousand pounds to the two parties. The issue was favourable to Lord Berwick, and will in all probability establish him in the patronage of the borough jointly with Sir William Pulteney.

The numbers on the poll were—

For Sir W. Pulteney	370
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Hon. W. Hill	242
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John Hill, Esq.	153
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It has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corpor

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, steward, twenty-four aldermen, and forty-eight common-council-men, with a town-clerk, &c.

Right of election, December 20, 1709, is only in the burgeses inhabiting within the said borough, or the suburbs thereof, paying scot and lot, and not receiving alms or charity.

May 27, 1714, is in the mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the said borough.

April 9, 1723, same resolution as in 1709.

Six parishes and forty-six vills voted out of the borough.

Number of voters, *four hundred.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patrons, Lord Berwick, and Sir William Pulteney.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

The principal interest in this county is that of Earl Paulet. A contest took place in 1795, on the death of Mr. Coxe, between the two present members, but it was compromised without a poll. At the ensuing general election in 1796, they were both returned.

SOUTHAMPTON.

The corporation of this town are always in the interest of the treasury, and their influence over the inhabitants is such as to command a majority.

The late Hans Stanley, of place-hunting
memory,

memory, was the patron of this corporation : but Mr. Rose of the treasury has now that controul.

It has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation. It is a county of itself, and governed by a mayor, recorder, sheriff, and two bailiffs. All those who have served any of the foregoing offices constitute the common-council. The corporation have also a power of choosing burgeses, resident or non-resident, who have votes for members of parliament.

Right of election, December 31, 1689, in the burgeses and inhabitants.

May 17, 1695, the out-living burgeses, as well as the burgeses inhabitants, and other

inhabitants paying scot and lot, have a right to vote.

Number of voters, *six hundred.*

Returning officers, the mayor, and two bailiffs.

Patron, George Rose, Esq.

SOUTHWARK.

This borough has set the constitutional example to the country of sending a member to parliament free of expence. It could hardly be expected that under the present corrupt practice of treating and bribing at elections, so independent a character as Mr. Tierney could obtain a majority of any body of electors where that method of influence was used by his opponent. The numbers on the poll were
there-

therefore against him, but he contested the return before the house of commons, and having established the proof of corruption against one of the sitting members, the election, as far as it related to that member, was declared void. A new election took place in December last: the same member was again returned, and Mr. Tierney renewed his petition on the ground of the ineligibility of the person who had been declared by a committee of the house of commons to have violated the statute of William the Third, against treating the voters at elections. The law and the constitution triumphed, and Mr. Tierney was declared duly elected.

The decision of this question was of the utmost importance to the freedom of election. Those who have witnessed the drunkenness, debauchery, and profligacy with which modern elections have been conducted, the effect those scenes have on the morals of the people,

ple, the extortions they occasion on the candidate, and the absolute subversion of all liberty of choice among the electors, must rejoice that the justice of this verdict has arrested the career of this vicious practice, and prevented, in future, this flagrant violation of the constitution.

The borough of Southwark has of late years submitted to ministerial influence, and even suffered the treasury to recommend it a member; but this apathy of the times is expiring: the delusion that misled the people is dispelled by national misfortune, and another election will enable them to display their gratitude to the defender of their rights, and once more to assume a character of honest independence.

This borough has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation, *none.*

Right

Right of election, November 10, 1702, in
the inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, *two thousand five hundred.*

Returning officer, a bailiff, appointed by
the corporation of London.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

This county is principally influenced by
the Marquis of Stafford.

STAFFORD TOWN

Is one of the few independent boroughs in
this country. It is not necessary to say more
than that it has the honour to be represented
by Mr. Sheridan.

Stafford sent members the 23 of Edward
the First.

Corpo-

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, ten aldermen, and twenty common-councilmen.

Right of election, November 27, 1722, in the mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes reſident within the borough.

Number of voters, *ſix hundred.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

STAMFORD

Is the largeſt town in the county of Lincoln, but it always ſubmits the nomination of its members to the Earl of Exeter, who lives in the neighbourhood, and has a conſiderable property in the town.

It ſent members the 23 of Edward the Firſt, was diſcontinued the 11 of Edward the Third, and reſtored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corpo-

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen, and twenty-four assistants.

Right of election, March 8, 1735, in the inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, *five hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Earl of Exeter.

STEYNING.

This borough is the upper part of a long street in Suffex, the lower part of which constitutes the borough of Bramber.

Steyning is the joint property of the Duke of Norfolk and Sir John Honeywood.

Bramber is the joint property of the Duke of Rutland and Lord Calthorpe.

From the year 1298 to 1472, these places constituted only one borough, since which time they have elected two members each.

The Duke of Norfolk appoints at his court-leet a constable to be returning officer for each borough.

It first sent members the 4 of Edward the Second, was discontinued the next year, and restored the 31 of Henry the Sixth.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election in 1701, was determined to be in the inhabitants paying scot and lot.

In 1710, same determination.

In 1791, to be in the inhabitants of ancient houses, and houses built on the sites of ancient foundations within the borough, paying scot and lot.

In 1792, that no persons have a right to vote for members to serve in parliament for the borough of Steyning in respect of any houses within the borough of Bramber, the tything of Birdlington, or the manors of Charlton or King's Barnes; and that the right of election is in the constable and householders inhabitants within the said borough, paying scot and lot, and not receiving alms.

Number of voters, *one hundred.*

Returning officer, the constable.

Proprietors, Duke of Norfolk, and Sir John Honeywood.

STOCKBRIDGE.

The voters for this borough are one hundred and six, sixty-three of which number were reported to the House of Commons on the 22d of February, 1793, by the committee
for

for trying the petition of Colonel Porter and Mr. Barham, to have been *guilty of the most notorious bribery and corruption*, and a bill was thereupon brought into the House to incapacitate these men, being a majority of the electors of the borough, from voting in future elections. This bill was adjourned beyond the session, as in the case of Hindon and Shaftesbury, and of course lost.

These worthy electors are therefore at liberty to strike a safer bargain at future elections.

Colonel Porter and Mr. Barham have since that period bought up most of the houses and made it a proprietary borough.

It has sent members since the 1 of Elizabeth.

Corporation. It has neither charter nor corporation, but it has a titular bailiff, who has frequently been the hostler at an inn, whom

whom his master has procured to be appointed, that he might act as agent, and receive bribes with greater safety.

Number of voters, *one hundred and six.*

Right of election, in the inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Returning officer, the titular bailiff.

Proprietors, Joseph Forster Barham, Esq. and George Porter, Esq.

SUDBURY.

This borough exercises at present its elective right with independency, and has the honour of sending to parliament one of the most strenuous advocates for the liberties of the people.

It has sent members since the 1 of Elizabeth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, six aldermen, and twenty-four common-council-men.

Right of election, December 6, 1703, is only in the sons of freemen born after their fathers were made free, and such as have served seven years' apprenticeship, or made freemen by redemption.

Number of voters, about *eight hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

SUFFOLK.

The predominant interest in this county is that of the Duke of Grafton, Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Rous, Lord Huntingfield, and Sir Charles Bunbury; but the Duke of Grafton never interferes in the county elections.

SURRY.

SURRY.

The Duke of Bedford has the best interest in this county united with Sir Robert Clayton. Sir Joseph Mawbey has the second, and Lord Onslow the third.

SUSSEX.

This county at present divides its representation between the families of the Duke of Richmond and Lord Pelham.

TAMWORTH.

This borough is the property of Marquis Townshend, and Robert Peel, Esq. one of its present members.

It sent members the 5 of Elizabeth.

Corporation consists of two bailiffs, a recorder, and twenty-four capital burgesses.

Right of election, March 17, 1689, in the inhabitants paying scot and lot, and in the freeholders, whether resident or not.

January 23, 1722, freeholders excluded.

Number of voters, *two hundred and fifty*.

Returning officers, the two bailiffs.

Proprietors, Marquis Townshend, and Robert Peel, Esq.

TAVISTOCK

Is the sole property of the Duke of Bedford.

It sent members the 23 and 33 of Edward the First, and 19 of Edward the Second, it was then discontinued till the 4 of Edward the Third, from which time it has constantly sent to parliament.

Corporation, *none*.

Right

Right of election, March 13, 1695, in the freeholders of inheritance in possession, inhabiting within the said borough.

Confirmed February 4, 1696.

Again, January 19, 1702:

Number of voters, nominally *one hundred and ten*, actually only *one*.

Returning officer, a portreve, annually chosen by twenty-four freeholders at the lord's court leet, appointed by the steward for that purpose.

Proprietor, Duke of Bedford.

TAUNTON.

This borough has lately lost its charter by misuse, and now exists without one.

The principal street and county-hall belong

to Sir Benjamin Hammet, who nominates one of its members.

It has sent to parliament since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation, before the charter was forfeited, consisted of a mayor, recorder, two aldermen, and a common-council of twenty.

Right of election, July 28, 1715, in the inhabitants within the said borough, being potwallers, and not receiving alms or charity.

Number of voters, *four hundred and fifty.*

Returning officer, the mayor, before the charter became dissolved.

Patron, Sir Benjamin Hammet, *one member,*

TEWKES-

TEWKESBURY.

This borough has many years had the honour of sending to parliament one of its most independent members, Mr. James Martin, the patron of parliamentary reform, the promoter of the abolition of the slave-trade, the opponent of the American and French wars, the uniform advocate of civil and religious liberty, and the friend of suffering humanity. It is be lamented that such a member could experience an opposition at the last election; the contest was however not personal, but merely an investigation of the local right of election. The freemen and freeholders had always exercised that right in this borough, and on their suffrages Mr. Martin had always been sent to parliament. Mr. Moore and Mr. Francis tendered the votes of the house-keepers at the poll, and presented a petition to the House of Commons in support of that claim. The decision of the

committee has established the right of the freemen and freeholders, and the sitting members were of course declared duly elected.

This borough first sent members the 7 of James the First.

Corporation consists of two bailiffs, and twenty-two burgesses.

Right of election, 1797, in the freemen and freeholders of the said borough.

Number of voters, about *five hundred*.

Returning officers, the two bailiffs.

THETFORD.

The right of voting in this borough is confined to a corporation of thirty-one individuals, who are under the patronage of the Duke of Grafton and Lord Petre.

It

It first sent members the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, ten aldermen, and twenty common-council.

Right of election, in the mayor, ten aldermen, and twenty common-council.

Number of voters, *thirty-one*.

Returning officer, the mayor:

Patrons, Duke of Grafton, and Lord Petre.

THIRSKE.

This borough is not the town known by that name in Yorkshire, but a miserable decayed village, distinguished by the name of *Old Thirске*. Sir Thomas Frankland is proprietor of the burgage-holds, and appoints both the members.

It

It sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the next year, and restored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, in the burgage-holders of Old Thirsk.

Number of voters, nominally *fifty*, but actually only *one*.

Returning officer, the lord's bailiff.

Proprietor, Sir Thomas Frankland.

TIVERTON.

The elective right is here possessed by a corporation composed of twenty-four individuals, who are all of them the dependents of Lord Harrowby.

It first sent members the 18 of James the First.

Corpo-

Corporation consists of a mayor, eleven aldermen, and twelve inferior assistants.

Right of election, no resolution; but it is exercised by the corporation only.

Number of voters, *twenty-four*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Lord Harrowby.

TOTNESS.

This borough had for a great number of years been under the influence of the Dukes of Bolton; but the estates of that family having devolved on the Right Honourable Thomas Orde, who has in consequence assumed the additional name of Powlett, that gentleman is now become its patron.

One of the members is called Mr. Powlett's member;

member; the other is termed the corporation member: but as Mr. Powlett has the influence of the corporation, as well as the controul of the electors, he must be understood to possess the command of both seats.

The Earl of Mount Edgecumbe is an hereditary burgess of the corporation of Totness, in right of his ancestor Richard Edgecumbe, Esq. who, in the second year of Queen Elizabeth, conveyed the manor of the borough to the corporation, on a reserved rent of twenty-one pounds per annum, payable to the owner of the castle, reserving with this alienation the right of a burgessship to his heirs for ever.

Colonel Harcourt, the present member for Westbury, opposed Lord George Seymour, who was called the corporation candidate, at the last general election, Lord Arden being Mr. Powlett's candidate; when the numbers on the poll were as follows—

Lord

Lord Arden	50
Lord George Seymour	42
Colonel Harcourt	15

This borough sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 17 of Edward the Fourth, and restored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twelve capital members, two counsellors, and twenty assistants.

Right of election, March 4, 1695, persons made free by the late King James's charter have no right to vote.

In the freemen not inhabiting, as well as the freemen inhabiting, within the said borough.

Number

Number of voters, *fifty-eight*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, the right Hon. Thomas Orde Powlett.

TREGONY.

This borough was purchased by Mr. Barwell, of Lord De Dunstanville, but the election has been carried for both members against the proprietor.

Sir John Doyley and Mr. Philip Metcalf, the nominees of Mr. Barwell, were opposed at the last election by Sir Lionel Copley and Mr. Nicholls, who got a majority on the poll of seventeen votes, in opposition to the influence of the proprietor; the numbers on the poll being—

For

For Sir L. Copley	94
John Nicholls, Esq.	94
Sir. J. Doyley	77
P. Metcalf, Esq.	77

This successful opposition to the proprietor was effected by Mr. Medlicot of Tregony, whose address and management in election matters is well known to those who have been conversant in Cornish business.

Tregony sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 35 of the same reign, and restored the 1 of Elizabeth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, and seven capital burgessees.

Right of election, March 5, 1695, in all the house-holders who boil the pot, or, in other

words, provide for themselves, whether they live under the same roof or not.

Returning officers, the mayor and the portreve, appointed at the court leet of the lord.

Proprietor, Richard Barwell, Esq.

TRURO.

The patronage of this corporation has long been contested between Lord Falmouth and Mr. Thomas of this borough: his lordship however preserves it at present, and his interest procured the last return.

The corporation possess the exclusive right of election.

Truro sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 17 of Edward the

Fourth, and restored the 1 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, four aldermen, and twenty capital burgesſes.

Right of election, May 21, 1689, in the mayor, and ſelect number of burgesſes.

Number of voters, *twenty-five*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Lord Falmouth.

WALLINGFORD.

Great part of this borough has been purchased by Sir Francis Sykes, who has nominated both members at the two former elections in 1784 and 1790; but the Earl of Abingdon, who had formerly a powerful in-

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tereſt

terest in this place, and is the present high steward, introduced Lord Eardley at the last general election, and procured his return, in opposition to the influence of Sir Francis Sykes. The borough may therefore be considered as having its influence divided between two patrons.

It sent members the 23 of Edward the First, and has never since been discontinued.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, six aldermen, and eighteen burgessees.

Right of election, December 15, 1709, in the corporation and inhabitants, paying scot and lot, and not receiving alms.

Number of voters, *one hundred and fifty.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patrons.

Patrons, Earl of Abingdon, and Sir Francis Sykes.

WAREHAM.

This borough is the property of John Calcraft, Esq. who nominates the members.

It first sent members the 30 of Edward the First.

Right of election, in the mayor, magistrates, and freeholders, and all that pay scot and lot, 15 June, 1661. Is only in the mayor and magistrates of the said borough as pay scot and lot, and in the freeholders of lands or tenements there, who have been, *bona fide*, to their own use, in the actual occupation, or in the receipts of the rents and profits of such lands or tenements, for the space of one whole year next before the election, except the same came to such freeholders by descent,

G g 2

devise,

devise, marriage, marriage-settlement, or promotion to some benefice in the church, 19 January, 1747.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, six capital burgessees, and 12 assistants.

Number of voters, about *one hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietor, John Calcraft, Esq.

WARWICKSHIRE.

The members for this county are not nominated by the nobility, though their interest is deemed sufficient to influence the return of one member, if the principal families could agree which should have the pre-eminence.

WAR-

WARWICK TOWN

Is under the influence of the Earl of Warwick, but it is expected that the independent part of the electors will try their strength at another election. Mr. Greathead, one of the candidates for Leicester at the last general election, it is supposed would have been chosen for this town had he accepted the invitation of the inhabitants to become their member, which was pressed with great earnestness; but he had engaged his services to the electors of Leicester before he received this application.

Warwick has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen or brethren, and twenty-four common-council-men.

Right of election, May 3, 1628, is in the *commonalty* of the said town.

January 31, 1722, is in such persons only as pay to church and poor in the said borough.

In this instance the word *commonalty* has received its constitutional signification. The words *commonalty*, *community*, and *populacy*, indisputably describe the whole body of housekeepers within the 'district.' The limitation of paying to church and poor was first introduced by the 43 of Elizabeth, which enacted the payment of those taxes. It could not exist before the taxes themselves existed; but where these words are explained to mean, *freemen*, *burgage-holders*, or a *corporation of mayor, aldermen, and burgessees*, it is evidently torturing the words into a signification that will not bear the test of general acceptance.

WELLS.

WELLS.

The electors of this city, who are not more than one hundred and twenty, have for many years been under the influence and direction of Clement Tudway, Esq. Mr. Taylor, the other member, has been cultivating an interest for some time, but it is not believed that he could have been elected if Mr. Tudway had opposed him.

It has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, seven masters, and sixteen common-councilmen.

Right of election is the mayor, masters, and burgeses, of the said city, 18 February, 1695.—N. B. The by-law of 1712, for in-

flitting penalties on the mayor and burgesſes, declared to be arbitrary and illegal, 30 May, 1716. Reſolved to be in the mayor, maſters, and burgesſes, and in ſuch perſons as are (by conſent of the mayor and common-council) admitted to their freedom, in any of the ſeven trading companies, on account of birth, ſervitude, or marriage, 2 May, 1723. The ſame reſolution, 18 April, 1729.—The ſame again, 14 March, 1734.

Number of voters, *one hundred and twenty.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Clement Tudway, Eſq.

WENDOVER.

This borough was the property of the late Earl Verney, whoſe truſtees ſold it to John Barker Church, Eſq. a gentleman who has lately exchanged his borough poſſeſſion in
this

this country for a more substantial one in America. Lord Carrington, proprietor of the borough of Midhurst, has purchased it of Mr. Church, and is the present possessor.

It first sent members the 28 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 2 of Edward the Second, and restored the 21 of James the First.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, November 21, 1702, in the inhabitant house-keepers within the borough, not receiving alms.

Number of voters, *one hundred and sixty*.

Returning officers, two constables.

Proprietor, Lord Carrington.

WEN-

WENLOCK,

The villages of Wenlock and Broseley are within the limits of this borough. Its proper name is Much Wenlock, but it is more frequently called *Muck Wenlock*, out of derision.

The patronage is under Lord Bradford and Cecil Forester, Esq. who each nominate a member.

This borough is remarkable for being the first that ever sent members to parliament by virtue of a *charter from the crown*, which was granted by Edward the Fourth, 29 November, 1478.

Corporation consists of a bailiff, recorder, two other justices, and twelve bailiff peers.

Right

Right of election, in the burgesſes at large,

Number of voters, about *one hundred*.

WEOBLY.

This borough is the property of the Marquis of Bath.

It firſt ſent members the 23 of Edward the Firſt, was diſcontinued the 2 of Edward the Second, and reſtored the 15 of Charles the Firſt.

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, agreed to be in the inhabitants of houſes of 20s. *per ann.* paying ſcot and lot, 13 January, 1698. Reſolved to be in the inhabitants of the ancient vote-houſes of 20s. *per ann.* value and upwards, reſiding in the ſaid houſes forty days before the day of election,

election, and paying scot and lot; and also in the owners of such ancient vote-houses, paying scot and lot, as shall be resident in such houses at the time of the election, 3 March, 1736.

Number of voters, *eighty-five*.

Returning officers, the constables.

Proprietor, the Marquis of Bath.

WESTBURY.

This borough is the property of the Earl of Abingdon. The number of voters are thirteen, who possess that right, and become members of the corporation in virtue of holding a burgage-tenure in fee, and being resident in the borough. These tenures his lordship can revoke or change at pleasure.

It

It has sent members since the 27 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, and twelve burgessees.

Right of election. Resolved that the tenants of burgage-houses, by lease for years absolute, have a right to vote, 1 December, 1702. Is in every tenant of any burgage tenement in fee, for life, or ninety-nine years, determinable upon lives, or by copy of court-roll, paying a burgage-rent of 4*d.* or 2*d.* yearly, being resident in the borough, and not receiving alms, 1 June, 1715.

Number of voters, *thirteen.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietor, Earl of Abingdon.

WEST

WEST LOOE

Is divided from East Looe by a bridge, which separates this insignificant place into two boroughs, sending each two members to parliament.

This borough is the private property of John Buller, Esq. as well as the borough of East Looe.

It first sent members the 6 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor and twelve capital burgeses. East Looe has another corporation, consisting of a mayor and eight burgeses.

Right of election, in the mayor, burgeses, and freemen.

Number

Number of voters, *about fifty*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietor, John Buller, Esq. comptroller of the customs in the port of London.

WESTMINSTER.

This city had always been considered as a political appendage to the influence of the court, till its independence was asserted by its present illustrious representative, Mr. Fox. The other member is still returned by government interest.

Mr. Horne Tooke has twice been a candidate for the representation of this city, but the uncommon exertions of ministerial power which the dread of such an opponent called into action, and the importance of depriv-

ing the cause of liberty of such an advocate, operated each time against his success.

The numbers on the poll at the last general election were—

For the Right Hon. C. J. Fox	5160
Sir A. Gardner	4814
John Horne Tooke, Esq.	2819

In 1789, a committee of the house of commons determined that the inhabitants of St. Martin's Le Grand, a parish in the centre of the city of London, *had a right to vote* for members for the city of Westminster, but that the inhabitants of St. John the Baptist, a parish in the centre of the city of Westminster, *had not a right to vote* for members to serve in parliament for the said city. This resolution has since been repealed by a subsequent committee, March, 19 1795.

West-

Westminster has sent members since the
 of Edward the Sixth.

Corporation. It has neither any charter or
 corporation, but the Dean and Chapter ap-
 point a high steward, who nominates a de-
 puty. A high bailiff is also appointed by the
 Dean and Chapter, and confirmed by the high
 steward, who again nominates his deputy.
 There are likewise sixteen burgeses, and six-
 teen assistants, and a high constable chosen by
 the burgeses at the court leet, which is held
 by the high steward's deputy.

Right of election, March 19, 1795.—That
 the right of election for the city and liberty
 of Westminster is in the inhabitants house-
 holders, paying scot and lot, of the united
 parishes of St. Margaret and St. John, and of
 the several parishes of St. Paul, Covent Garden,
 St. Anne, St. James, St. George, Hanover
 Square, St. Martin in the Fields, St. Clement

H h

Danes,

Danes, and St. Mary-le-strand, (including so much and such parts of the said parishes of St. Martin in the Fields, St. Clement Danes, and St. Mary-le-strand, as are within the liberties, district, limits, or jurisdiction of the Duchy of Lancaster), and of the liberty or district of St. Martin-le-grand, in the county of Middlesex, and of the precinct of the Savoy.

Number of voters, *twelve thousand*.

Returning officer, the high bailiff.

WESTMORELAND.

This county is entirely under the influence of the Earl of Lonsdale.

WEYMOUTH AND MELCOMBE REGIS.

This is one borough with two names, sending
ing

ing four members to parliament. The right of election is in the freeholds, which are all the property of Sir William Pulteney.

This borough belonged to the famous Bubb Doddington, who was created Lord Melcombe: it then became the property of Mr. Tucker, from whom it descended to Gabriel Steward, Esq. who sold it to the present proprietor.

Melcombe Regis sent two members the 33 of Edward the First. Weymouth did not send two till the 12 of Edward the Second. They were consolidated into one borough, and allowed to send four members, in the reign of Queen Mary.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, two bailiffs, and an indefinite number of aldermen and burgessees.

Right of election—no determination of the house, but an agreement of parties in 1730, admitted it to be in the mayor, aldermen, burgesſes, and freeholders.

Number of voters actually but *one*, beſide the corporation, as the freeholds are become the property of an individual.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietor, Sir William Pulteney.

WHITCHURCH

Is a village in Hampshire: the burgage-tenures which give the right of voting, are jointly the property of Lord Viſcount Sydney, and Lord Viſcount Middleton, who each nominate a member.

It has ſent members ſince the 27 of Elizabeth.

Corpo-

Corporation, *none*.

Right of election, in the freeholders only of lands or tenements, in right of themselves, or their wives, not split since the act of the 7 and 8 of the reign of King William, 21 December, 1708.

Number of voters, nominally *seventy*, actually only *two*.

Returning officer, a titular mayor, appointed at a court leet of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester, who are lords of the manor.

Proprietors, Lord Viscount Sydney, and Lord Viscount Middleton.

WIGAN.

The right of election in this borough is in about two hundred burgesses, who are under

the patronage of Lord Bradford, and John Cotes, Esq.

It sent members the 23 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 36 of the same reign, and restored the 1 of Edward the Fourth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, two bailiffs, and twelve aldermen.

Right of election, in the free burgesses.

Number of voters, *two hundred.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patrons, Lord Bradford, and John Cotes, Esq.

WILTON.

The right of election in this borough is
exclu-

exclusively in a corporation of twenty individuals, who are all under the controul of the Earl of Pembroke.

It has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, five aldermen, three capital burgessees, and eleven common-council-men.

Number of voters, *twenty*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Earl of Pembroke.

WILTSHIRE

Is independent of the nobility.

WINCHELSEA

Is one of the cinque ports, and had but three freemen who were eligible to vote at the general election in 1790; but Mr. Barwell, who has purchased the borough, has since procured five more of his friends and relations, who are all non-residents, to be made free of the corporation, by whose suffrages he can appoint both the members.

It sent members to the national council the 11 of Henry the Third, was again summoned the 43 of Edward the Third, and again the 20 of Richard the Second, since which time it has been continued.

Corporation should consist of a mayor and twelve jurats, but this body seldom exceed four or five.

Right

Right of election, February 11, 1711, in the mayor, jurats, and freemen.

The freemen are not obliged to qualify themselves, by receiving the sacrament according to the corporation act.

Number of voters, *eight*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietor, Richard Barwell, Esq.

WINCHESTER.

The right of election in this city, like Bath and Salisbury, is confined to the corporation, who were under the influence of the late Duke of Chandos, and Henry Penton, Esq. late member for this city, and letter-carrier to the king: but since the marriage of the heiress
of

of the Chandos family with Earl Temple, the patronage has been exercised by his lordship.

Mr. Rose of the Treasury has been endeavouring to supplant Mr. Penton in his corporation interest, but has had no better success here than at Launceston.

Winchester has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, six aldermen, two bailiffs, and twenty-four common-council-men.

Right of election, agreed to be in the mayor, recorder, aldermen, bailiffs, and corporation, October 20, 1690.

Number of voters, *thirty-four*.

Return-

Returning officers, the bailiffs.

Patrons, Earl Temple, and Henry Penton,
Esq.

WINDSOR

Is what is called a Treasury borough.

It first sent members the 30 of Edward the First, was discontinued the 14 of Edward the Third, and restored the 7 of Edward the Fourth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, two bailiffs, twenty-eight burgessees, thirteen of whom are called fellows, or benchers of the Guildhall, from among whom the mayor and bailiffs must be chosen.

Right of election, in the inhabitants who pay scot and lot, 4 November, 1680. In the
mayor,

mayor, bailiffs, and select number of burgeses only, 2 May, 1689. Is not in the mayor, bailiffs, and burgeses ; but that all the inhabitants have the right of electing, 5 April, 1697.

Number of voters, near *three hundred*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, the Minister for the time being.

WOODSTOCK.

The manor and honour of this borough and hundred were settled on the Duke of Marlborough in the time of Queen Ann, from whom it descended to the present Duke, who nominates the two members.

It first sent members the 30 of Edward the
9 First,

First, was discontinued the 34 of the same reign, and restored the 1 of Mary.

Corporation consists of a mayor, high steward, recorder, four aldermen, and seventeen common-council-men.

Right of election, in the corporation and freemen.

Number of voters, *four hundred.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Duke of Marlborough.

WORCESTERSHIRE

Is at present compromised.

WOR.

WORCESTER CITY

Is not under the influence of an individual, but is generally managed by the corporation.

It has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, sheriff, six aldermen, twenty-four common-council-men, and forty-eight assistants.

Right of election, agreed to be in the free-men not receiving alms, 7 February, 1693. In the citizens not receiving alms, and admitted to their freedom by birth or servitude, or by redemption, in order to trade within the said city, 11 February, 1747.

Number

Number of voters, *two thousand.*

Returning officer, the sheriff.

WOTTON BASSET

Is the joint property of the Earl of Clarendon, and Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

It has sent members since the 25 of Henry the Sixth.

Corporation consists of a mayor, two aldermen, and twelve capital burgesses.

Right of election is in the inhabitants paying scot and lot.

Number of voters, *one hundred.*

Returning officer, the mayor.

Proprietors, Earl of Clarendon, and Lord
Viscount Bolingbroke.

HIGH WYCOMBE.

The right of election here is exclusively in
the corporation, who are under the patronage
of the Marquis of Landfdown, and Sir John
Dashwood King, Bart.

It has sent members since the 28 of Ed-
ward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder,
two bailiffs, twelve aldermen, and an indefi-
nite number of burgesſes.

Right of election, January 28, 1702, in
the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesſes, not receiv-
ing alms.

Number of voters, *fifty*.

Return-

Returning officers, the mayor, and bailiff.

Patrons, Marquis of Lansdown, and Sir John Dashwood King.

YARMOUTH, HAMPSHIRE,

Contains about fifty houses, cottages included. The right of election is in a corporation of capital and free burgesses, the number unlimited. At present the corporation consists of twenty, only one of whom is resident in the borough.

Jervoise Clarke Jervoise, Esq. and the Reverend Leonard Trougher Holmes, are the joint patrons, and, by mutual compact, have agreed that each shall nominate a member, and to keep the interests even, whenever a vacancy happens by the death of a capital, or free burgess, the side to which he belonged immediately nominates a successor.

It has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor and twelve capital burgeses, who have a power to make any number of free burgeses.

Right of election, in the corporation.

Number of voters, *one* resident in the borough, and *nineteen* non-residents.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patrons, Jervoise Clarke Jervoise, Esq. and the Rev. Leonard Trougher Holmes.

YARMOUTH, NORFOLK.

This town is under the influence of the Earl of Leicester, and has for many parliaments been represented by some of his lordship's family,

family, with only one exception. In 1784, Sir John Jervis and Mr. Beaufoy were elected under the support of government, in opposition to the Townshend interest.

The two members who were chosen at the last general election, died before the meeting of the new parliament, and on the writ being issued for the new election, the independent burgesses proposed Sir John Jervis during his absence at sea, but the interest of the Earl of Leicester prevailed; the numbers on the poll being—

For William Loftus, Esq.	602
H. Joddrel, Esq.	563
Sir J. Jervis	421

Yarmouth has sent members since the 23 of Edward the First.

Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder,

seventeen aldermen, and thirty-six common-council-men.

Right of election, in the burgesses at large.

Number of voters, *one thousand*.

Returning officer, the mayor.

Patron, Earl of Leicester.

YORKSHIRE.

The remarks already made under the counties of Devon and Lincoln apply exactly to this county.

YORK CITY

Is the only place in this extensive county that is independent of controuling influence.

York

York sent four members as a county in the 49 of Henry the Third, and has continued to send two to every succeeding council and parliament.

Corporation.—It is governed by a lord mayor, recorder, two sheriffs, twelve aldermen, twenty-four assistants, and seventy-two common-council-men.

Right of election, in the freemen at large.

Number of voters, *near three thousand.*

Returning officers, the sheriffs.

For the four members as a county in the
of Henry the Third, and has continued to
send two to every succeeding council and par-
liament.

Corporation—it is governed by a lord
mayor, recorder, two sheriffs, twelve alder-
men, twenty-four assistants, and forty-two
common-council-men.

Right of electing in the freemen at large.

Number of voters at the last election.

Returning officers, the Lord Mayor.

(83)

PRESENT STATE
OF THE
REPRESENTATION
OF
SCOTLAND.

THE Report of the Committee of the Friends of the People, associated for the purpose of obtaining a Reform of Parliament, contains such a correct and simple statement of the origin and present state of the representation of Scotland, that we find it necessary to introduce it as an authentic testimony of the ancient freedom of election in that part of the British empire.

It will not require any comment where the evidence is so complete, nor any apology

where the authority is not to be impeached. To use their own words, " an unembellished " detail of facts must be refuted before it " can be shaken."

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE
OF THE

FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE.

" BEFORE your Committee proceeds to the consideration of the important objects to which they conceive you chiefly intended to direct their attention, it may not be improper to mention a sort of representation which is peculiar to North Britain; which has an irresistible tendency to give to the crown an undue influence in the House of Lords, and which by a more silent, but not less effectual operation, contributes equally to the same end in the other house of parliament.

" At

“ At the union of the two kingdoms, in the beginning of this century, the peers of Scotland surrendered their hereditary right to seats in parliament; and were limited to an elective representation by sixteen of their number. It is not the intention of your Committee to enter at large into the history of their elections; it is sufficient to state, that it is universally known, that ever since the Union, they have been considerably influenced by the ministers of the crown; which species of patronage has given them an undue preponderance in the popular branch of the legislature, by means which will be afterwards explained.

“ Your Committee having thus slightly touched on the state of the Scottish peerage, and only as it has a reference to their immediate object, they will now endeavour to fulfil their duty by presenting to the Society a true and impartial account of the representation

tation of the people of Scotland in the House of Commons.

“ They will first establish, as they think incontrovertibly,

1. That the constitution of the Scottish parliament was originally popular and free.
2. That many laws which have been enacted for the regulation of elections, bear evident marks of the combined efforts of the crown and the aristocracy, to narrow the rights of election.
3. That each of these laws deprived the people of some right formerly enjoyed and exercised.
4. That by various fictions of law, contrary to the spirit of the British constitution, the right of election of members to serve in
parlia-

parliament has been transferred from those to whom it justly and naturally belonged, to others, who had no right whatsoever.

5. That these grievances have been long and severely felt by the people ; that they have been often complained of ; and that various statutes for their remedy have been vainly enacted and successfully eluded.

6. That the system of representation in Scotland is now so confined and defective, that it has become a mere mockery upon the name or idea.

“ Although the counties, cities, and burghs labour under the same constitutional grievance, and suffer equally from the gradual deterioration of their ancient condition, it will be necessary to consider their history separately, on account of the different modes
in

in which their rights have been circumscribed, usurped, or destroyed.

COUNTIES.

“ By the constitution of Scotland, the parliament being the king's court baron, or *curia regis*, he could summon all his immediate tenants to attend him there. In these remote times, service in parliament was not considered as a profitable privilege, but as a burthen some duty ; and, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the system of representation was introduced for the ease and benefit of the vassals or tenants. Yet, until near the end of the sixteenth century, every freeholder or tenant of the crown was entitled to vote at elections, however small his property might be, which sufficiently proves the ancient popularity and freedom of the institution.

“ In the reign of James the Sixth of Scotland, and First of England, (a monarch who was not distinguished by too great an attachment to the liberty of mankind) the right of voting was first restricted to freeholders possessing lands of forty shillings, of what was called “ old extent;” that is of lands which were so rated in the cefs or county books about the end of the thirteenth, or beginning of the fourteenth century. Your Committee wish you to observe, that this was a great and fatal blow to popular election; for though forty shillings was made, *as in England*; the nominal standard of a vote, yet by carrying it back to a rate or valuation made three hundred years before, the value of money having considerably fallen, the extent of the qualification required was very much raised.—And this circumstance points out the efficient cause of the enormous difference which subsists between England and Scotland with regard to the freedom and popularity of election

tion in the counties. In England, the qualification has been allowed to keep pace with the decreasing value of money, and has therefore been extended to greater numbers of electors. In Scotland, by the limitations to the rates and valuations of very remote periods, the right of voting has been confined to possessors of very considerable estates, and the number of electors has been very much diminished.

“ Had the Scottish kings and nobles stopped at this point, the evil might have been endured: but they proceeded vigorously in their career of encroachment. In the reign of Charles the Second it was enacted, that where the right of voting on an old forty shillings land could not be proved, which had become difficult, then to be enabled to vote, it should be necessary to be infeft in, or seized of an estate, valued in the same reign at 400*l*. Scots annual rent. It is proper here to mention,

tion, that at this day, by the nearest average which can be made over the whole kingdom, the rent of those lands, which are valued at forty shillings "old extent," is from 70 to 130l. sterling; and the rent of the lands valued in the reign of Charles the Second at 400l. Scots, is now about 400l. sterling, so that this king more than tripled the qualification required of the greatest part of the kingdom, by substituting lands, worth 400l. instead of those worth 100 or 130l.

" Even this infringement was not thought enough; under George the Second the modes of proving the existence of those old forty shilling votes, were rendered more difficult, by details with which your Committee will not trouble you; they will only state by these regulations many of those votes have disappeared, and that very few of them now remain.

" Hitherto your Committee have confined
them-

themselves to the statement of those evils which arise from the magnitude of the qualifications required in electors, and their consequent paucity: they have yet supposed that this precious right is exercised only by the real proprietors of the soil, under certain grievous and improper limitations; but they are now to describe mischiefs of another nature, which have been suffered to grow up, which have been fondly fostered in the bosom of kingly aristocratic power; and which have totally perverted and completely overturned the real representation of the counties.

“ By the act of Charles the Second, 1681, the foundation was laid for the intolerable abuses which now exist, and which certainly were never contemplated or foreseen by that parliament. It was then enacted, that the right of voting should be in persons publicly infest in *property* or *superiority* of lands of forty shillings old extent, or 400l. Scots valued

lued rent; thus making the distinction and drawing the line between *property* and *superiority*. It is necessary to explain this term of *superiority*, because from an abuse of it, the principal grievances in the elections for knights of the shire in Scotland have arisen.

“ The feudal law supposes the king to be the sole proprietor of all the lands in the kingdom: from him his vassals hold by charter; in like manner his vassals may grant lands to be held from them by charter; these sub-vassals may repeat the same operation *ad infinitum*; but the original or *immediate* vassal of the king has the sole right of voting or being elected to serve in parliament. From this system the following consequences have flowed:

“ I. Proprietors of estates, of whatsoever value, who hold from a subject, are not entitled to vote or to be elected. It is com-

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puted,

puted, that in several counties nearly one half of the lands are held in this manner from subjects superior: over the whole kingdom it is believed that one fifth of the lands are so held; therefore the proprietors of one fifth of the landed property, as far as that property operates, are deprived of any voice in the choosing their representatives.

“ II. In this class of landholders, so excluded from this invaluable franchise, are men of estates worth from 500l. to 2000l. per annum; but what is more to be lamented, it comprehends the best and most virtuous parts of the community, namely, the middling and smaller gentry, and the industrious yeomen and farmers who have inherited or acquired some landed property.

“ III. Many persons without the smallest interest in the land possess the right of voting and of being elected.

“ IV. It

“ IV. It is a principle in the constitution, that no man shall have more than one vote in the same county in his own person; and it is another principle, that no peer of the realm shall have any vote at all in the election of members to serve in the House of Commons.

“ By an ingenious device of the lawyers, these two fundamental principles have been eluded: when a person of great property wishes to multiply his votes, he surrenders his charter to the crown; he appoints a number of confidential friends, to whom the crown parcels out his estate in lots of 400 l. Scots valued rent: then he takes charters from these friends for the real property; thus leaving them apparently the immediate tenants of the crown, and consequently all entitled to vote or to be elected. This operation is equally open to peers and great commoners, who have availed themselves of it accordingly; the peers thus acquiring an in-

fluence from which they are excluded by the spirit and forms of the constitution; and the great commoners extending and multiplying a right in an undue and fraudulent manner—thereby depreciating or extinguishing the franchises of the smaller proprietors, with great and manifest prejudice to the general liberty of the country.

“ This legal fraud began in this century, and has been chiefly practised during the present reign; it therefore derives no shelter or sanction from custom, which the folly of men allows to cover a multitude of glaring abuses. Your Committee will not dwell on the various modes by which it has been performed: they will briefly state, that the common methods have been by life-rent, charters, charters on wadset or mortgage, and charters in fee.

“ The legislature has not been blind to these

these mischievous innovations; nor has it been inactive in endeavouring to resist and prevent them. It has admitted, that these delusive surrenders of charters, and consequent creations of nominal and fictitious votes, are fraudulent in fact and principle; and it has been decreed, that wherever they can be detected, they shall be illegal and void. Several laws have been passed for the prevention of such proceedings, and for the detection of such crimes. Oaths have been enacted to be taken by freeholders claiming to poll at elections, couched in the strongest terms, and providing as many guards as the zeal and wisdom of the legislature could invent; but all these precautions have been constantly defeated by the ingenuity of the learned profession, who have always succeeded in finding salvos for weak consciences. Gentlemen of the fairest characters, nay clergymen, have been induced by subtile explanations, and the nicest verbal subterfuges, to take these oaths,

contrary to the evident intendment of the legislature, contrary to the received meaning and usage of our language, and in defiance of the general sense of their country.

“ Your Committee refer you to the acts, 12 Anne, cap. 6, and 7 George the Second, cap. 18, not only for the terms of the oaths, but for the purpose and meaning of the laws,

“ The Court of Session in Scotland have been remarkably unfortunate in their endeavours to give effect to these laws. Being composed of fifteen judges, and the sentences being decided by the majority actually present, it has necessarily happened, that from the diversity of opinions naturally incident to mankind, the decisions of the court have frequently varied, according to the absence or attendance of the several lords; and the same points at issue have often undergone very different and opposite determinations. Nor has the situation

tion of the subject been much bettered by the appeal to the House of Peers; for very contrary systems concerning these election laws have been maintained and carried into effect by the highest authorities in that final judicature. What was law one day, and under the direction of one judge, was not law another day, and under another judge: and thus from the double uncertainty of the manner in which the majorities on the Scottish bench might decide, and of the varying opinions of the high legal characters in England, men have had no security, and have been doomed to suffer *incertum jus, summa injuria*. It may not be wrong to state, that not less than six hundred law-suits have taken place within these twenty years on this subject of county elections, which with the attendant legal operations have cost above a million of pounds sterling.

“ The parliamentary representation of the

K k 4

counties

counties in Scotland has therefore, according to the expression of a noble lord high in the law, "completely slid from its basis." Much undue influence has been acquired by the crown, the nobility, and the great proprietors; the laws have been eluded and perverted; the number of electors has been greatly diminished; and the constitutional rights of the subject have been invaded, usurped, or annihilated.

"By Table, No. I, which is annexed, it will be seen, that in two of the counties, there are only three real voters in each; in seven, not more than ten: in all of them respectively very few. The total number of real voters in the whole is 1,390. Total of false, nominal, and fictitious voters, 1,201: and thirty-three counties return only thirty members, six having only the right of sending a member to every second parliament,

CITIES

CITIES AND BURGHS.

“ By the ancient and original constitution of the cities and burghs, the magistrates and town councils *were chosen by the* resident burgeses and proprietors *of houses and lands*: this, however, was a state of freedom, too incompatible with the proud and narrow views of the kings and nobility, who constantly in hostility with each other, agreed in nothing but in degrading and oppressing the people. By an act passed in 1469, the town councils were invested with the power of electing their successors; and, in 1474, it was ordained that four persons of the old should be annually chosen into the new town councils. By these laws, as far as they were effectual, the burgeses and inhabitants at large were disfranchised; they had no longer any controul over their magistrates; and the corporations became self-elected
juntos,

juntos, totally separated in interest from their former constituents and fellow citizens.

“ Every city or burgh had certain estates in land, houses, fisheries, port duties, and other valuable sorts of property; the revenue arising from which was by their original charters and constitutions destined to be applied for the benefit of their communities; but as soon as the magistrates and councils acquired the power of electing themselves in perpetuity, they administered, embezzled, and dilapidated these estates at their pleasure.

“ This subject is now before parliament; and a great body of evidence has been compiled, which will soon be published, and which will throw very great light on the ancient state of the Scottish burghs. Your Committee, however, have thought proper to mention it as one great branch of the encroachment on former rights.

“It is absolutely necessary to state, that these unjust acts of 1469 and 1474 have been so detested by the people, and so much resisted in practice, that they have never been completely executed in any one place: in many of the burghs the burgeses continued for a long period to elect their own magistrates, and several charters have been granted as low down as the end of the last century, conferring the right of election on the burgeses. These acts, then, on which the present system is founded, have not the sanction derived from the submission, consent, or reverence of the people; and their repeal would not be an innovation, but a restoration of ancient rights and privileges.

“If the cities and burghs had suffered in their common property only, by these tyrannical laws, they would have been comparatively fortunate; but as their representatives in parliament were to be chosen by the magistrates

gistrates and councils, when they lost the right of electing them, they lost all share in the choice of their legislators; and, in this unhappy situation, they find themselves at this day.

“ At the Union, Edinburgh, being the capital, alone retained its right of sending one member to parliament: all the other towns were thrown into districts of fours and fives, each district being allowed to send one member.—This induced a regulation, which still more sensibly wounded the freedom of election. By it, every burgh now elects a delegate; these delegates meet by rotation at each of the towns to elect the representative. The place where they meet is called the presiding burgh for that election, and its delegate has a casting vote in case of an equality of voices. The burghs have no controul on their delegates; they must trust entirely to honour for the return of the person by whom they

they wish to be represented : and there *have* been instances where the delegates have corruptly betrayed their trust, and have acted contrary to the desire and expectation of their constituents.

“ Another evil, deeply felt by the great commercial towns, is their being classed with insignificant and obscure burghs : among many instances of this it will be sufficient to mention Glasgow, which is known to be one of the most opulent trading cities of Great Britain. Its number of inhabitants exceeds 60,000 ; its delegate is chosen by thirty-two persons, who are self-elected ; and this delegate has only one voice of four in the choice of a member of parliament, in common with the delegates of three little towns, the inhabitants of which are not more than 2000.

“ By Table, No. II. it appears that of the fifteen members for the cities and burghs, one
for

for Edinburgh is chosen by thirty-three persons; the other fourteen by 65 delegates, who are elected by 1220 persons.

“ The inhabitants of Scotland are supposed to be near two millions; their representatives are chosen by 2643. Scotland sends forty-five members; a single county in England, namely Cornwall, sends forty-four.

“ Your committee will now conclude: they have endeavoured to be as brief as possible, and to confine themselves strictly to the most material facts. Volumes might have been written on the matter which has presented itself to their observation: but they hope with deference to the judgment of the society, that they have more truly executed the task which they undertook by compressing, than by expanding the subject.

TABLE

TABLE, &c. of Number of Electors, in the Counties, &c.

No. I.

	1788.	1790.	
	Real.	Nom.	Valued rent of each shire of Scotland, Scots money.
1 Aberdeen	82	96	158
2 Argyll	23	31	43
3 Ayr	86	119	210
4 Banff	19	103	108
5 Berwick	66	87	150
6 Dumbarton	25	51	65
7 Dumfries	34	11	49
8 Edinburgh, or Mid Lothian	83	10	96
9 Fife	153	32	188
10 Forfar, or Angus	71	24	92
11 Haddington, or East Lothian	61	13	76
12 Inverness	20	83	103
13 Kincardine	46	6	55
14 Kirkcudbright	80	72	155
15 Lanerk	55	69	128 about
16 Linlithgow, or West Lothian	29	18	64
17 Moray, or Elgin	23	53	77
18 Orkney	18	21	40
19 Peebles	32	5	37
20 Perth	128	19	145 about
21 Renfrew	32	82	128
22 Ross	46	33	72
23 Roxburgh	56	49	81
24 Selkirk	27	13	40
25 Stirling	46	30	59
26 Sutherland	8	23	35
27 Wigton	29	34	53

The following six shires elected a member alternately. At the last election the shires of Caithness, Kinross, and Cromarty, returned a member to parliament. At the next election the shires of Bute, Clackmannan, and Nairn, will return a member to parliament; that is, Caithness alternately with Bute, Clackmannan with Kinross, and Nairn with Cromarty. At the last election in 1790,

28 Caithness	10	11	22
29 Cromarty	3	6	6
30 Kinross	9	17	23
To return next election			
31 Bute	3	9	12
32 Clackmannan	5	11	16
33 Nairn	6	14	20
	1404	1235	2636

3,815,857 11 8
15,022 13 8
26,482 10 10
15,162 10 11
3,872,526 7 1

TABLE of the Number of Electors in the Royal Burghs.

No. II.

	Number of town-council, who chuse each one delegate.	Number of delegates in each district who chuse the member of parlia- ment.		Number of town-council, who chuse each one delegate.	Number of delegates in each district who chuse the member of parlia- ment.
I. Edinburgh City	33		IX. Stirling	21	
II. Dinwall	15	5	Inverkeithing	15	5
Dornock	15		Dumfermline	26	
Wick	12		Culrofs	19	
Kirkwall	23		Queensferry	21	
Tain	17		X. Rutherglen	19	4
III. Fortrose	15	4	Glasgow	32	
Inverness	21		Renfrew	21	
Nairn	19		Dumbarton	15	
Forres	17		XI. Jedburgh	25	
IV. Elgin	17	5	Dunbar	20	5
Banff	17		North Berwick	12	
Cullen	26		Lauder	17	
Kintore	9		Haddington	25	
Inverarie	9		XII. Peebles	17	4
V. Aberdeen	19	5	Linlithgow	27	
Montrose	21		Selkirk	33	
Brechin	13		Lanerk	17	
Aberbrothock	19		XIII. Dumfries	25	5
Inverbervie	15		Kirkcudbright	17	
VI. Perth	26	5	Annan	21	
Dundee	29		Lochmaben	15	
St. Andrews	29		Sanquhar	17	
Cupar	31		XIV. Whithorn	19	4
Forfar	19		New Galloway	20	
VII. Crail	21	5	Stranraer	18	
Kilrenny	13		Wigton	18	
Anstruther, W.	15		XV. Irwine	17	5
Anstruther, E.	19		Rothsay	19	
Pittenweem	24		Inverary	13	
VIII. Kinghorn	22	4	Cambelltown	17	
Dysart	24		Ayr	17	
Kirkaldy	21				
Burntisland	22				
				1220	65

In Edinburgh 33 persons elect one member of parliament. In each of the other 14 districts, the respective town councils nominate one delegate each, and by the majority of those delegates in each district the member of parliament is elected.

Thus in Edinburgh - 33 persons elect - 1 member.
In the other districts, 1220 chuse - 65 persons, who elect 14 members.

So that ultimately in the burghs - 98 persons elect - 15 members.

STATE
OF THE
SEVERAL COUNTIES
OF
SCOTLAND.

ABERDEEN.

Number of voters, real *eighty-two*, nominal
ninety-six.

Patron, Duke of Gordon.

ARGYLL.

Number of voters, real *twenty-three*, no-
minal *twenty-one*.

Patron, Duke of Argyll.

L 1

AIR.

AIR.

Number of voters, real *eighty-six*, nominal
one hundred and nineteen.

Patron, Earl of Eglinton.

BANFF.

Number of voters, real *nineteen*, nominal
one hundred and three.

Patron, Earl of Fife.

BERWICK.

Number of voters, real *sixty-six*, nominal
eighty-seven.

Patron, Mr. Home, of Wedderburne.

DUM-

DUMBARTON.

Number of voters, real *fifteen*, nominal *fifty-one*.

Patron, Lord Elphinstone.

DUMFRIES.

Number of voters, real *thirty-four*, nominal *eleven*.

Patron, Duke of Queensberry.

EDINBURGH.

Number of voters, real *eighty-three*, nominal *ten*.

Patron, Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

FIFE.

Number of voters, real *one hundred and fifty-three*, nominal *thirty-two*.

Patron, Mr. Wemyss, of Wemyss.

FORFAR.

Number of voters, real *seventy-one*, nominal *twenty-four*.

Patron, Hon. Mr. Maule, of Panmure.

HADDINGTON.

Number of voters, real *sixty-one*, nominal *thirteen*.

Patron, Marquis of Tweeddale.

INVER-

INVERNESS.

Number of voters, real *twenty*, nominal
eighty-three.

Patron, Mr. Frazer, of Lovat.

KINCARDINE.

Number of voters, real *forty-six*, nominal
six.

Patron, Mr. Barclay, of Urie.

KIRKCUDBRIGHT.

Number of voters, real *eighty*, nominal *se-*
venty-two.

Patron, J. Murray, of Broughton, Esq.

LANERK.

Number of voters, real *fifty-five*, nominal *sixty-nine*.

Patron, Duke of Hamilton.

LINLITHGOW.

Number of voters, real *twenty-nine*, nominal *eighteen*.

Patron, Earl of Hopetoun.

MORAY, or ELGIN.

Number of voters, real *twenty-three*, nominal *fifty-three*.

Patron, Earl of Fife.

ORK-

ORKNEY.

Number of voters, real *eighteen*, nominal
twenty-one.

Patron, Lord Dundas.

PEEBLES.

Number of voters, real *thirty-two*, nominal
five.

Patron, Duke of Queensberry.

PERTH.

Number of voters, real *one hundred and*
twenty-eight, nominal *nineteen*.

Patron, Duke of Athol.

RENFREW.

Number of voters, real *thirty-two*, nominal *eighty-two*.

Patron, Sir John Shaw Stewart.

ROSS.

Number of voters, real *forty-six*, nominal *thirty-three*.

Patron, Mr. M'Kenzie, of Seaforth.

ROXBURGH.

Number of voters, real *fifty-six*, nominal *forty-nine*.

Patron, Duke of Roxburgh.

SEL-

SELKIRK.

Number of voters, real *twenty-seven*, nominal *thirteen*.

Patron, Duke of Buccleugh.

STIRLING.

Number of voters, real *forty-six*, nominal *thirty*.

Patron, Duke of Montrose.

SUTHERLAND.

Number of voters, real *eight*, nominal *twenty-three*.

Patron, Countess of Sutherland.

WIGTON.

Number of voters, real *twenty-nine*, nominal *thirty-four*.

Patron,

Patron, Earl of Galloway.

The following counties return members to parliament alternately. Bute, Clackmannan, and Nairn, are represented in the present parliament; Caithness, Kinross, and Cromarty will return at the next general election.

BUTE.

Number of voters, real *three*, nominal *nine*.

Patron, Marquis of Bute.

CLACKMANNAN.

Number of voters, real *five*, nominal *eleven*.

Patron, Mr. Abercromby, of Tullybody.

NAIRN.

NAIRN.

Number of voters, real *six*, nominal *fourteen*.

Patron, Lord Cawdor.

CAITHNESS.

Number of voters, real *ten*, nominal *eleven*.

Patron, Sir John Sinclair.

CROMARTY.

Number of voters, real *three*, nominal *six*.

Patron, Mr. Davidson, of Tulloch.

KINROSS.

Number of voters, real *nine*, nominal *seventeen*.

Patron, Mr. Graham, of Kinross.

ROYAL

ROYAL BURGHS.

EDINBURGH CITY.

Corporation consists of a provost, four bailies, dean of guild, treasurer, old provost, four old bailies, old dean of guild, old treasurer, three merchant counsellors, two trades counsellors, six ordinary council deacons, and eight extraordinary council deacons.

Right of election, in the above corporation.

Number of voters, *thirty-three*.

Patron, Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

<i>Royal Burghs.</i>	<i>Patrons.</i>
Tain - -	Mr. Ross, of Ankerville.
Dingwall - -	Countess of Sutherland.
Dornoch - -	Countess of Sutherland.
6	Wick

Royal Burghs.

Patrons.

Wick	-	-	Sir John Sinclair.
Kirkwall	-	-	Lord Dundas.

Number of voters, *five*.

Patron of the whole, the Treasury.

Elgin	-	-	Earl of Fife.
Banff	-	-	Earl of Finlater.
Cullen	-	-	Earl of Finlater.
Kintore	-	-	Earl of Kintore.
Inverurie	-	-	Earl of Kintore.

Number of voters, *five*.

Patron of the whole, the Treasury.

Aberdeen	-	-	Mr. Allardyce, of Dun-
			nottar.
Montrose	-	-	Mr. Scott, of Duninald.
Brechin	-	-	Sir David Carnegie.

Aber-

*Royal Burghs.**Patrons.*

Aberbrothock	-	Sir David Carnegie.
Inverbervie	- -	Mr. Barclay, of Urie.

Number of voters, *five*.

Patron of the whole, the Treasury.

Perth	-	-	Earl of Breadalbane.
Dundee	-	-	G. Dempster.
St. Andrew's	-	-	Captain Duncan.
Forfar	-	-	Hon. Mr. Maule.
Cupar	-	-	Captain Rigg.

Number of voters, *five*.

Patron of the whole, the Treasury.

Anstruther, East		Sir John Anstruther.
Anstruther, West		Sir John Anstruther.
Kilrenny	- -	Sir John Anstruther.
Pittenweem	-	Sir John Anstruther.
Crail	- -	Mr. Erskine, of Cambo.

Number

Royal Burghs. *Patrons.*

Number of voters, *five*.

Patron of the whole, Sir John Anstruther.

Dysart	-	-	Sir J. Sinclair Erskine.
Kirkaldy	-	-	Mr. Fergus.
Bruntisland	-	-	Mr. Ferguson, of Rath.
Kinghorn	-	-	Mr. Hamilton, of the Ex- cise-office.

Number of voters, *four*.

Patron of the whole, the Treasury.

Stirling	-	-	Mr. M'Killop.
Inverkeithing	-	-	Sir John Henderson.
Dunfermline	-	-	James Francis Erskine, Esq.
Queensferry	-	-	Earl of Hopetoun.
Culrofs	-	-	Mr. Preston, of Valley- field.

Number of voters, *five*.

Royal Burghs. Patrons.

Patron of the whole, the Treasury.

Glasgow - - Mr. M'Dowal, of Garth-
land.

Dumbarton - - Duke of Argyle.

Renfrew - - Mr. Spiers, of Elderlie.

Rutherglen - - Major Spens.

Number of voters, *four*.

Patron of the whole, the Treasury.

Jedburgh - - Duke of Roxburgh.

Haddington - - Marquis of Tweedale.

Dunbar - - Earl of Lauderdale.

Lauder - - Earl of Lauderdale.

North-Berwick - - Sir Hew Dalrymple.

Number of voters, *five*.

Patron of the whole, the Treasury.

Peebles - - Duke of Queensberry.

Lanerk - - Duke of Hamilton.

Linlith.

Royal Burghs.

Patrons.

Linlithgow - - Duke of Hamilton.
Selkirk - - Duke of Buccleugh.

Number of voters, *four*.

Patron of the whole, the Treasury.

Dumfries - - Duke of Queensberry.
Sanquhar - - Duke of Queensberry.
Kirkcudbright - - Earl of Selkirk.
Lochmaben - - Duke of Queensberry.
Annan - - Earl of Hopetoun.

Number of voters, *five*.

Patron of the whole, the Duke of Queensberry.

Wigton - - Earl of Galloway.
Whithorn - - Earl of Galloway.
New Galloway - - Mr. Gordon, of Kenmure.
Stranraer - - Earl of Stair.

M m

Number

Burghs.

Patrons.

Number of voters, *four*.

Patron of the whole, the Treasury.

Ayr - - Sir Adam Ferguson.

Irvine - - Earl of Eglinton.

Rothsay - - Marquis of Bute.

Inverarie - - Duke of Argyle.

Cambeltown - - Duke of Argyle.

Number of voters, *five*.

Patron of the whole, the Treasury.

Fortrose - - Mr. M'Kenzie, of Seaforth.

Inverness - - Sir Hector Monro.

Nairn - - Sir Hector Monro.

Forres - - Mr. Brodie, of Brodie.

Number of voters, *four*.

Patron of the whole, the Treasury.

COR-

CORRECT TABLE OF PARLIAMENTARY PATRONAGE.

PATRONAGE OF PEERS.

<i>Names of Patrons.</i>	<i>Nominate Members.</i>	<i>Influence the return of Members.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Duke of Norfolk	1 for Steyning	2 for Hereford 2 for Carlisle 1 for Herefordshire 1 for Gloucester 1 for Arundel 1 for Shoreham 1 for Sussex 1 for Chichester 1 for Thetford	9
M Duke of Richmond		1 for Gloucestershire	2
M Duke of Grafton		1 for Monmouthshire 1 for Monmouth 1 for Bristol	1
Duke of Beaufort		2 for Helston 1 for Bedfordshire 2 for Bedford 1 for Surry	4
Duke of Leeds		1 for Derbyshire 2 for Derby	2
Duke of Bedford	2 for Tavistock		6
Duke of Devonshire	2 for Knareborough		5

PATRONAGE OF PEERS.

<i>Names of Patrons.</i>	<i>Nominate Members.</i>	<i>Influence the return of Members.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Duke of Marlborough	{ 2 for Woodstock 1 for Heytesbury }	{ 1 for Oxfordshire 1 for Oxford 1 for Leicestershire 1 for Cambridgeshire 2 for Cambridge 1 for Scarborough 1 for Grantham 1 for Boston 1 for Buckinghamshire 1 for Nottinghamshire 1 for Bristol 1 for Huntingdonshire }	5
Duke of Rutland	1 for Bramber		7
Duke of Ancaster			1
Duke of Portland			3
Duke of Manchester			1
Duke of Dorset			2
Duke of Bridgewater	2 for East Grinstead 2 for Brackley		2
Duke of Newcastle	{ 2 for Aldborough, Yorkshire 2 for Boroughbridge 2 for Newport, Cornwall 2 for Launceston }	{ 2 for Newark 2 for East Retford }	8
Duke of Northumberland		1 for Northumberland	5
Duke of Buccleugh		1 for Selkirk County	1
Duke of Hamilton		1 for Lanerk County	1
Duke of Gordon		1 for Aberdeen County	1

PATRONAGE OF PEERS.

<i>Names of Patrons.</i>	<i>Nominate Members.</i>	<i>Influence the return of Members.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Duke of Queensberry	-	{ 1 for Dumfries County	3
Duke of Argyle	-	{ 1 for Peebles County	1
Duke of Athol	-	{ 1 for Dumfries Borough	1
Duke of Montrose	-	{ 1 for Argyle County	1
Duke of Roxburgh	-	{ 1 for Perth County	1
Marquis of Buckingham	-	{ 1 for Surling County	1
Marquis of Lansdown	{ 2 for St. Mawes	{ 1 for Roxburgh County	6
Marquis of Stafford	{ 2 for Buckingham	{ 1 for Buckinghamshire	3
Marquis Townshend	{ 2 for Calne	{ 1 for Aylesbury	4
Marquis Cornwallis	-	{ 1 for Wycombe	1
Marquis of Hertford	-	{ 1 for Staffordshire	3
Marquis of Bath	2 for Eye	{ 1 for Litchfield	1
Marquis of Bute	2 for Orford	{ 2 for Newcastle, Staffordshire	3
Marquis of Tweeddale	2 for Weobly	{ 1 for Tanworth	2
Earl of Derby	1 for Bute	{ 1 for Suffolk	3
Earl of Pembroke	-	{ 1 for Bath	2
	-	{ 1 for Cardiff	1
	-	{ 1 for Haddington County	2
	-	{ 1 for Lancashire	1
	2 for Wilton	{ 1 for Preston	2

PATRONAGE OF PEERS.

<i>Names of Patrons.</i>	<i>Nominate Members.</i>	<i>Influence the return of Members.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Earl of Exeter	-	2 for Stamford	2
Earl of Northampton	-	1 for Northampton	1
Earl of Westmoreland	-	-	2
Earl of Thanet	2 for Lyme Regis	-	2
Earl of Sandwich	2 for Appleby	-	1
Earl of Carlisle	-	1 for Huntingdonshire	2
Earl of Shaftesbury	1 for Dorchester	2 for Morpeth	1
Earl of Berkeley	-	1 for Gloucestershire	1
Earl of Abingdon	2 for Westbury	1 for Wallingford	1
Earl Paulet	-	1 for Bridgewater	1
Earl of Oxford	-	1 for Herefordshire	3
Earl of Bristol	-	1 for Radnorshire	1
Earl Cholmondeley	-	1 for Radnor	1
Earl of Portsmouth	1 for Castle Rising	1 for Bury St. Edmund's	1
Earl of Warwick	-	1 for Andover	1
Earl Fitzwilliam	-	2 for Warwick	2
Earl of Powis	{ 2 for Malton	2 for Peterborough	5
Earl of Guildford	1 for Higham Ferrers	-	1
Earl of Hardwicke	1 for Montgomery	1 for Banbury	1
	1 for Ryegate	1 for Cambridgeshire	2

PATRONAGE OF PEERS.

<i>Names of Patrons.</i>	<i>Nominate Members.</i>	<i>Influence the return of Members.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Earl Darlington	-	1 for Durham County	1
Earl of Radnor	2 for Downton	1 for Salisbury	3
Earl Spencer	-	1 for St. Alban's	1
Earl Bathurst	-	1 for Cirencester	1
Earl of Ailesbury	2 for Great Bedwin	2 for Marlborough	4
Earl of Clarendon	1 for Worton Bassett	-	1
Earl of Uxbridge	1 for Milbourne Port	1 for Anglesea	3
Earl of Londale	2 for Haslemere	1 for Carnarvon	3
Earl Grosvenor	2 for Cockermouth	1 for Cumberland	8
Earl Camden	-	2 for Westmoreland	2
Earl of Mount Edgecumbe	2 for Plimpton	1 for Lancaster Town	1
Earl of Beverley	2 for Lestwithiel	2 for Chester City	5
Earl of Dorchester	1 for Boffiney	1 for Bath	2
Earl of Carnarvon	2 for Beeralston	-	1
Earl of Eglinton	1 for Dorchester	1 for Cricklade	1
Earl of Fife	-	1 for Air County	1
Earl of Hopetoun	-	1 for Banff County	1
Countess of Sutherland	-	1 for Linlithgow County	1
	-	1 for Sutherland County	1

PATRONAGE OF PEERS.

<i>Names of Patrons.</i>	<i>Nominate Members.</i>	<i>Influence the return of Members.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Earl of Galloway	-	1 for Wigton County	1
Viscount Bolingbroke	-	-	1
Viscount Falmouth	-	2 for Truro	2
Viscount Sydney	-	-	2
Viscount Newark	-	-	1
Viscountess Irwin	-	1 for Nottinghamshire	2
Lord Clinton	-	-	3
Lord Petre	-	1 for Thetford	1
Lord Craven	-	1 for Berkshire	1
Lord Onslow	-	1 for Guildford	1
Lord Walpole	-	2 for Lynn	2
Lord Pelham	-	1 for Suffolk	4
Lord Brownlow	-	1 for Lewes	1
Lord Rivers	-	1 for Grantham	1
Lord Harrowby	-	1 for Dorchester	2
Lord Foley	-	2 for Tiverton	2
Lord Grantley	-	1 for Guildford	1
Lord Camelford	-	-	2
Lord Eliot	-	-	4
Lord Delaval	-	1 for Berwick	1

PATRONAGE OF PEERS.

<i>Names of Patrons.</i>	<i>Nominate Members.</i>	<i>Influence the return of Members.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Lord Bulkeley	-	{ 1 for Carnarvonshire	2
Lord Grimstone	-	{ 1 for Beaumaris	1
Lord Somers	-	1 for St. Albans	1
Lord Berwick	-	-	1
Lord Clive	1 for Ryegate	-	1
Lord Mulgrave	-	1 for Shrewsbury	1
Lord Lyttelton	2 for Bishop's Castle	1 for Ludlow	3
Lord Bradford	-	1 for Scarborough	1
Lord Dundas	-	1 for Bewdley	1
Lord Curzon	-	{ 1 for Wenlock	2
Lord Yarborough	-	{ 1 for Wigan	3
Lord Vise, Middleton	2 for Richmond	1 for Orkney	2
Lord Calthorpe	1 for Clitheroe	1 for Leicestershire	3
Lord De Dunstanville	-	{ 2 for Great Grimsby	1
Lord Harewood	-	{ 1 for Beverley	2
Lord Cawdor	1 for Whitchurch	-	1
Lord Elphinstone	1 for Bramber	1 for Hindon	2
	-	2 for Penryn	2
	1 for Northallerton	1 for Yorkshire	2
	-	1 for Nairn	1
	-	1 for Dumbarton	1
Total return of the Peers			243

PATRONAGE OF COMMONERS.

<i>Names of Patrons.</i>	<i>Nominate Members.</i>	<i>Influence the return of Members.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
William Drake, Esq.	2 for Agmondesham	-	2
T. C. Crespigny, Esq.	2 for Aldborough, Suffolk	-	2
Joshua Iremonger, Esq.	-	1 for Andover	1
Sir Robert Palke	1 for Ashburton	-	1
Sir George Thomas	-	1 for Arundel	1
Sir Robert Clayton	2 for Blechingly	-	2
Sir John Morfehead	-	2 for Bodmyn	2
Hon. James Wortley Stuart	1 for Bossiney	-	1
Thomas Fyde, Esq.	-	1 for Boston	1
Sir Charles Morgan	-	1 for Monmouthshire	3
John Whitmore, Esq.	-	1 for Breconshire	
Sir Jonathan Phillips	-	1 for Brecon	
Richard Howard, Esq.	-	2 for Bridgenorth	2
Sir Samuel Fludyer	-	2 for Camelford	2
Henry Dawkins, Esq.	1 for Castle Rising	-	1
George Rose, Esq.	1 for Chippenham	-	1
Thomas Lister, Esq.	1 for Chippenham	-	1
Henry Banks, Esq.	2 for Christchurch	-	4
John Bond, Esq.	1 for Clitheroe	-	1
Edmund Bastard, Esq.	1 for Corfe Castle	-	1
	1 for Corfe Castle	-	1
	-	2 for Dartmouth	2

PATRONAGE OF COMMONERS.

<i>Names of Patrons.</i>	<i>Nominate Members.</i>	<i>Influence the return of Members.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
James Sutton, Esq.	-	2 for Devises	2
Lord Huntingfield	1 for Dunwich	-	1
Miles Barne, Esq.	1 for Dunwich	-	1
Sir H. V. Tempest	-	1 for Durham	1
John Lambton, Esq.	-	1 for Durham	1
John Buller, Esq.	{ 2 for East Looe	-	4
	{ 2 for West Looe	-	
Sir Charles Davers	-	1 for St. Edmundsbury	1
Philip Rashleigh, Esq.	1 for Fowey	-	1
John Petrie, Esq.	2 for Gatton	-	2
Sir Christopher Hawkins	-	{ 2 for Grampound	4
John Robinson, Esq.	-	{ 2 for St. Michaels	
Edward Millward, Esq.	-	2 for Harwich	2
Lord Millford	-	2 for Hastings	2
Sir W. P. A. Ashe	-	1 for Haverford West	1
William Beckford, Esq.	1 for Heytesbury	-	1
Sir C. F. Radcliffe	-	1 for Hindon	1
William Evelyn, Esq.	-	1 for Hythe	1
John Troward, Esq.	-	1 for Hythe	1
William Praed, Esq.	2 for Ilchester	-	2
C. A. Crickett, Esq.	-	2 for St. Ives	2
	-	2 for Ipswich	2

PATRONAGE OF COMMONERS.

<i>Names of Patrons.</i>	<i>Nominate Members.</i>	<i>Influence the return of Members.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Lord Malden	-	2 for Leominster	2
Thomas Anson, Esq.	-	1 for Litchfield	1
Thomas Everett, Esq.	-	-	1
Sir H. B. Neale	1 for Luggershall	-	2
J. H. Strutt, Esq.	2 for Lymington	-	1
C. C. Western, Esq.	-	1 for Malden	1
Joseph Wilkins, Esq.	-	1 for Malden	1
Thomas Wilkams, Esq.	2 for Malmesbury	-	2
Lord Carrington	-	2 for Marlow	2
W. C. Medleycott, Esq.	{ 2 for Midhurst	-	4
J. F. Luttrell, Esq.	{ 2 for Wendover	-	1
Rev. L. T. Holmes	1 for Milbourne Port	-	2
Jervoise Clarke Jervoise, Esq.	{ 2 for Newport, Hants	2 for Minthead	3
T. P. Leigh, Esq.	1 for Yarmouth, Hants	-	1
Sir Richard Worsley	1 for Yarmouth, Hants	-	2
Sir John Barrington	2 for Newton, Lancashire	-	1
Henry Pierce, Esq.	1 for Newton, Hants	-	1
Thomas Tyrwhitt, Esq.	1 for Newton, Hants	-	1
R. B. Robson, Esq.	1 for Northallerton	-	1
Hugh Barlow, Esq.	-	1 for Oakhampton	1
	-	1 for Oakhampton	1
	-	1 for Pembroke	1

PATRONAGE OF COMMONERS.

<i>Names of Patrons.</i>	<i>Nominate Members.</i>	<i>Influence the return of Members.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
William Jolliffe, Esq.	2 for Petersfield	1 for Poole	2
Benjamin Lister, Esq.	-	1 for Poole	1
John Jeffery, Esq.	-	1 for Pomfret	1
Lord Galway	-	2 for Portsmouth	2
Sir John Carter	-	1 for Preston	1
Sir H. P. Houghton	-	-	2
Mrs. Allanson	2 for Ripon	-	2
Sir Edward Deering	2 for Romney	-	2
Thomas Lamb, Esq.	2 for Rye	-	2
John Buller, Esq.	2 for Salts	-	2
Sir Philip Stephens	-	1 for Sandwich	1
Paul Benfield, Esq.	-	-	2
Sir William Pulteney	2 for Shaftesbury	1 for Shrewsbury	5
Sir John Honeywood	2 for Weymouth	-	1
J. F. Barham, Esq.	2 for Melcombe Regis	-	1
George Porter, Esq.	1 for Steyning	-	1
Robert Peel, Esq.	1 for Stockbridge	-	1
Sir Benjamin Hammet	1 for Stockbridge	1 for Tamworth	1
Sir Thomas Frankland	-	1 for Taunton	1
Right Hon. T. O. Powlett	2 for Old Thirke	2 for Totness	2

PATRONAGE OF COMMONERS.

<i>Names of Patrons.</i>	<i>Nominate Members.</i>	<i>Influence the return of Members.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Richard Barwell, Esq.	{ 2 for Tregony 2 for Winchelsea }	-	4
Sir Francis Sykes	-	1 for Wallingford	1
John Calcraft, Esq.	-	-	2
Clement Tudway, Esq.	-	2 for Wells	2
Cecil Forester, Esq.	-	1 for Wenlock	1
John Cotes, Esq.	-	1 for Wigan	1
Earl Temple	-	1 for Winchester	1
Henry Penton, Esq.	-	1 for Winchester	1
Sir W. W. Wynne	-	{ 1 for Denbighshire 1 for Flint }	2
Sir John Anstruther	1 for Anstruther, &c.	-	1
— Home, Esq.	-	-	1
Right Hon. Henry Dundas	-	{ 1 for Berwickshire 1 for Edinburgh County 1 for Edinburgh city }	2
— Wemyss, Esq.	-	1 for Fife County	1
Hon Ramsay Maule	-	1 for Forfar County	1
Hon. Mr. Fraser	-	1 for Inverness County	1
Mr. Barclay, of Urie	-	1 for Kincardine County	1
John Murray, Esq.	-	1 for Kirkcudbright County	1
Sir John Shaw Stewart	-	1 for Renfrew County	1
Mr. M'Mackenzie	-	1 for Ross County	1

PATRONAGE OF COMMONERS.

<i>Names of Patrons.</i>	<i>Nominate Members.</i>	<i>Influence the return of Members.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Mr. Abercromby	-	1 for Clackmannan County	1
Sir John Sinclair	-	1 for Caithness County	1
Mr. Davidson	-	1 for Cromarty County	1
Mr. Graham	-	1 for Kinross County	1
			<hr/>
		Total Patronage of Commoners	159

PATRONAGE OF THE TREASURY.

{ 13 for Scotch Districts	13
2 for Queenborough	2
2 for Windfor	2
1 for Dover	1
1 for Sandwich	1
1 for Rochester	1
2 for Plymouth	2
	<hr/>
Total Patronage of the Treasury	22

Treasury.

Having approached to the conclusion of a work which the reader will perceive has been compiled from a combination of authorities whose authenticity are unimpeachable, and having established the ancient constitutional right of the people to sessional parliaments, by the evidence of the returns which are recorded, and of the universal right of house-keepers to vote in elections by the king's writs of summons, and from the statutes at large, it follows of course that the present system of election and representation is essentially different in all its parts from that which was originally the right of the people.

The mode of choosing county members by freeholders was an innovation introduced by act of parliament in the eighth year of Henry the Sixth, and the practice of electing members for cities and boroughs by exclusive bodies or corporations is an innovation of a more recent date. The first parliamentary
I charter

charter appearing to have been granted in the reign of Edward the Fourth; and even the limitation of the right of voting under these charters appears to have originated in *bye laws*, enacted by these corporations, by which they at first invested themselves with the exclusive right of electing members, or confined the exercise of it to persons born or apprenticed within a borough, or to such persons as they might think proper to admit to such freedom by purchase or favour. These bye laws afterwards obtained the sanction of resolutions of committees of the house of Commons on the trial of controverted elections; and these resolutions were afterwards confirmed by acts of the legislature.

Thus the right of electing members of parliament has been limited, from the whole community of house-keepers in a county, to a corporation of twelve or thirteen individuals, as is now the case at Buckingham,

N n

Malmes-

Malmesbury, and many other places; or to some insignificant spot of ground without an inhabitant, such as Midhurst, Old Sarum, &c.

To correct a grievance of such flagrant magnitude, and to restore the people to their ancient rights, is an act of justice to which they have an indisputable claim. In that view of the subject, I take the liberty to recommend the following simple but efficacious plan of Mr. Granville Sharp, for restoring the ancient constitution of the country to its pristine purity, freedom, and vigour.

The number of houses in Great Britain are, according to the house-tax, twelve hundred thousand. Let these be divided into primary assemblies, of ten each, to be denominated by their ancient term of tythings; each of them electing annually their conservator of the peace, or tything-man. Let ten of these tythings form the hundred court,

agreeable to ancient usage, and elect annually their constable of the hundred. Ten of these hundreds, again, should form the court of the thousand, and elect annually their Elder-man or magistrate; and two thousand should form the elective district to choose a representative for the parliament. This mode would establish a system of representation perfectly fair and equal, and would be effected without the least departure from the plan agreed upon by the society of the Friends of the People. It is only an organization of that plan upon the ancient practical principles of the constitution, and might be effected in the following regular progression—

1,200,000 house-keepers.

120,000 tything-men.

12,000 constables.

1,200 magistrates.

600 representatives.

Should

Should the plan for universal suffrage be adopted, the same system will be equally practicable, though on a more extensive basis.

The objections made by the opponents of reform, and those who are interested in the abuses existing under the present form of representation, on the ground of impracticability, are fully refuted by the actual existence of this excellent system, till it was overturned by Norman violence. It is only our object to recur to the original principles of the constitution, to purify it from its abuses and corruptions, and to restore it to its native beauty and splendor.



FINIS.

